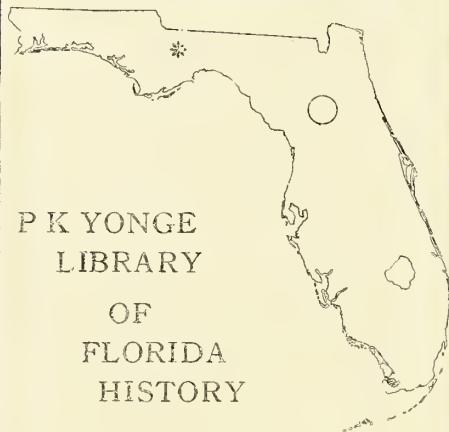


Minorcans

F.034
W956m

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA LIBRARIES

P K YONGE
LIBRARY
OF
FLORIDA
HISTORY



Signature of the treaty of peace at Paris on February 10, 1763, brought to a successful conclusion over a century of effort by Great Britain to obtain control of all the Atlantic seaboard of North America from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Cape of Florida. By a succession of invasions of that vast territory claimed by Spain as La Florida this eastern part ~~was~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ had for some years been England's North American Colonies. The remaining small part, Peninsula Florida, the only part in which Spain had established permanent settlement, was ~~not~~ delivered up to Great Britain in exchange for the Island of Cuba captured during the preceeding seven years war.

To the English North American colonists Spanish Florida of the early 18th century was territory of which little was known save by rumor and the somewhat unreliable reports of limited territories brought back by the expeditions of Moore, Palmer and Oglethorpe. To the ruling class in England, of that period, it was terra incognita.

In evacuating this territory the ~~Spanishxxxxxxx~~ offered Spain offered many inducements to her subjects to follow the flag, providing free transportation and even gifts of land in other Spanish possessions. The Florida obtained by Great Britain was one consisting of two depopulated cities and ~~a~~ with a wilderness lying between them.

Aside from the military consideration of ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ of obtaining complete control of the Atlantic Coast it was also the English idea that this sub-tropical land would furnish the mother country with agricultural products peculiarly adapted to the climate and not obtainable from the more northerly colonies. Naturally the growing of these products would require an agricultural population. Natives of the British Isles showed little inclination

to emigrate in sufficient numbers so propaganda was begun and the first Florida land boom started.

Military occupation of the new Provinces having been accomplished, there appeared, in the Annual Register under date of November 21, 1763, the following announcement:

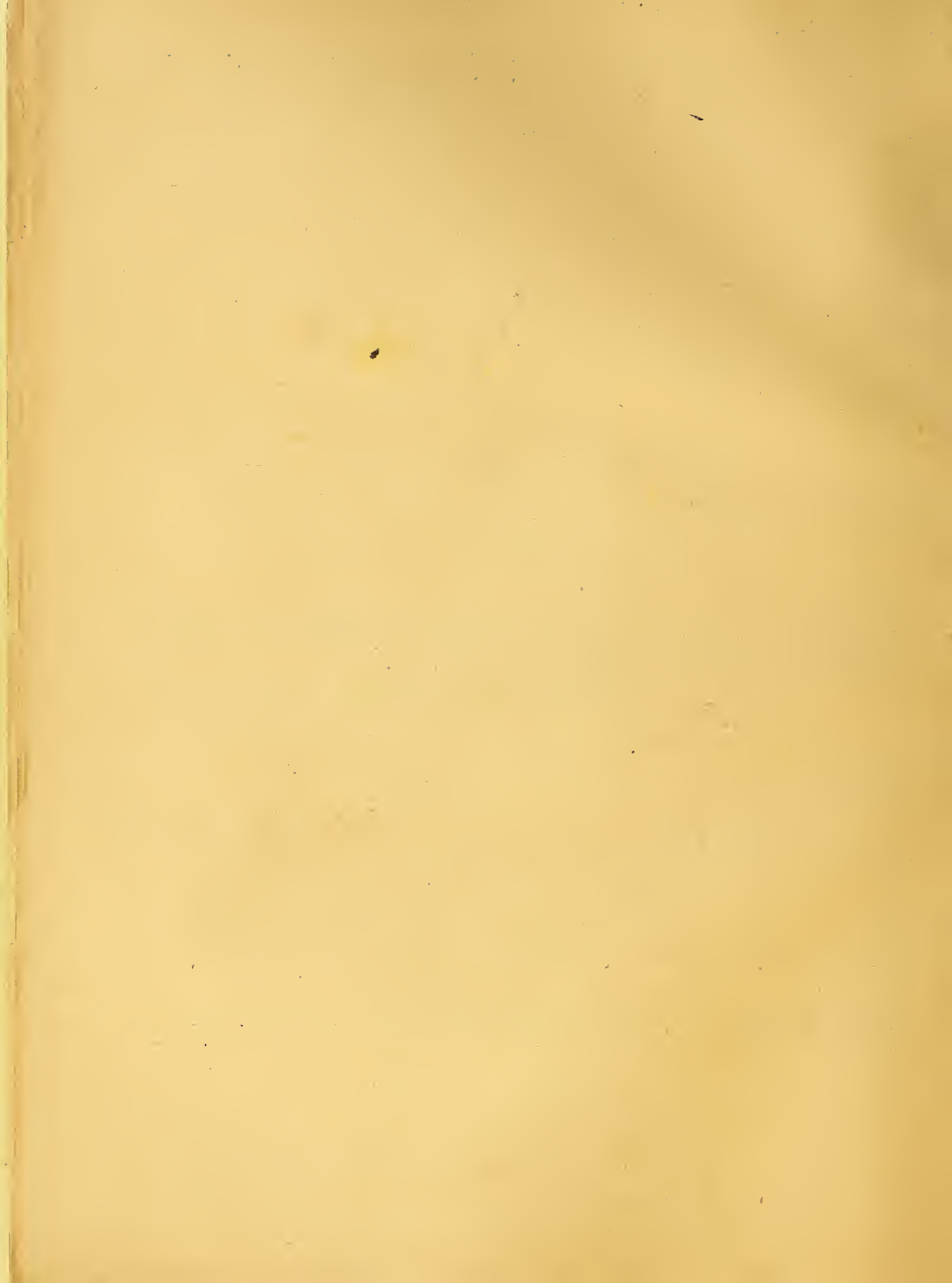
"The lords commissioners for trade and plantations having received information, that many persons are desirous of grants of land in his majesty's provinces of East Florida and West Florida in America, in order to the cultivation of the same, for the raising of silk, cotton, wine, oil, indigo, cochineal, and other commodities, to which the said lands are adapted; their lordships, therefore, to avoid any delay in the making such settlements, do, by his majesty's command, give public notice, that his majesty has been pleased to direct that the lands in his majesty's said provinces of East Florida and West Florida shall be surveyed and laid out in townships, not exceeding twenty thousand acres each, for the convenience and accomodation of settlers; and these townships, or any proportions thereof, will be granted, upon the same moderate conditions of quitrent and cultivation as are required in other colonies, to such persons as shall be willing to enter into reasonable engagements to settle the lands within a limited time, and at their own expense, with a proper number of useful and industrious inhabitants, either from his majesty's other colonies, or from foreign parts; and all persons who may be willing to obtain such grants, are desired to send their proposals in writing to John Pownall, Esq; secretary to the said lords commissioners for trade and plantations"

There were many applications for grants, and many warrants issued, but as the grantees had to "enter into reasonable engagements



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2019 with funding from
University of Florida, George A. Smathers Libraries

<https://archive.org/details/minorcans00work>



There was, indeed, the settlement attempted by Denys Rolle, a member of Parliament, who established himself at Mount Pleasant, on the east bank of the St. John's River, who peopled his grant with beggars, debtors and vagrants from the streets of London, including, according to tradition, some fallen women.^{3.}

3. East Florida as a British Province Charles Loch Mowat, University of California Press, 1943, p.71.

However, these settlers proved to be neither "useful" or "Industrious" and the settlement of short duration.

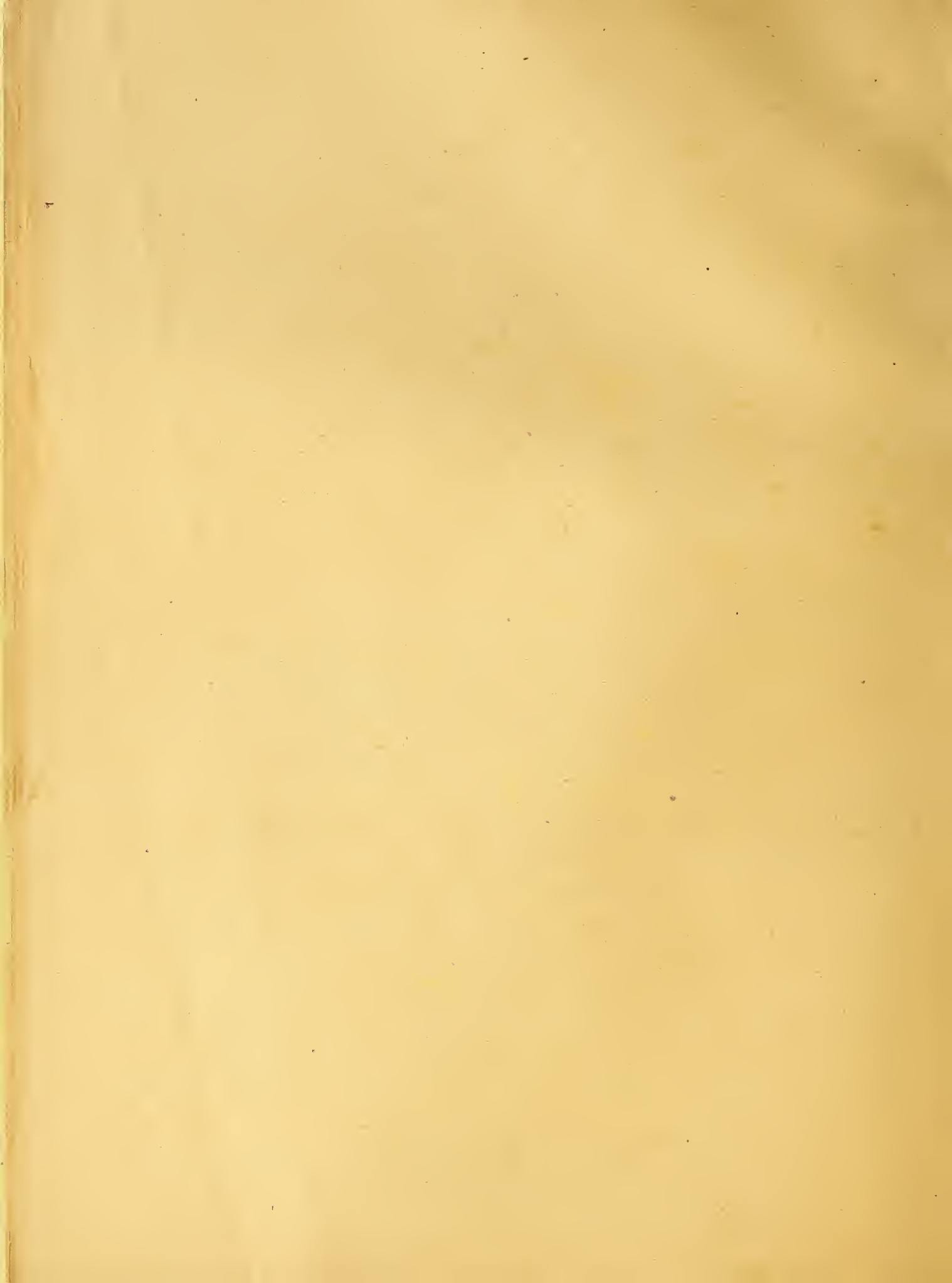
"Various schemes for the settlement of white families were made, but never reached the stage of formal grants. Dr. Stork offered to bring a number of industrious Germans...if the government would provide him with the use of one of the King's sloops deemed unfit for public service."⁴

4. Mowat, p.61.

It remained for Dr. Andrew Turnbull to combine the suggestions of Menzies and Stork and to ~~establish~~ undertake the most important effort to colonize ~~part of~~ in East Florida which was made during the 20 years ~~of~~ that this territory was a British Province. It is the surviving settlers of this colony and their descendants who later became, and still are, known as ^{"The} Minorcans."

~~The~~ The location of this settlement was about sixty miles south of St. Augustine near the harbor ~~now known~~ then known as the Mosquitos and ~~now~~ designated on modern maps as Ponce de Leon Inlet. The brevity of English knowledge of Florida, even of this district so close to the seat of government at St. Augustine, is shown by a letter of March 1, 1765 from the English governor Grant to the Lords of Trade.

"...That is the best harbor which has yet been found in this Province...From a Spanish Report which prevailed here on my arrival I formed a favorable idea of that Harbor & the Country.



about it, but although it is not above seventy miles from this Town I failed in the first two attempts to find it out...At last two Florida Spaniards came here from the Havannah...& by giving them their own terms I prevailed upon them to attend Mr. Moncrief the Engineer who drew the Plan of the Harbor and gives a very favorable account of that part of the Province...."^{5.}

5. C.O. 5/540, pp353-358.

On June 18 of the following year Dr. Turnbull obtained his first ~~grant~~^{grants} of land in East Florida, one for himself and a second in favor of Sir William Duncan, Baronet, who represented a group of financial backers of Turnbull's enterprise. The grant is quoted in full as it is characteristic of all the English land grants in Florida of that period.

"At the Court of St. James, the 18th day of June, 1766.

(Lists as present the King and a number of members of the King's Council)

"Whereas application has been made to His Majesty at this Board, by Andrew Turnbull Esq. Praying for a Grant of Lands in His Majesty's Province of East Florida in order to make a settlement thereupon. His Majesty this day took the same into consideration, and having received the opinion of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, and also of a Committee of the Lords of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, to order; that the Governor or Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Province ~~forxxxx~~ of East Florida for the time being do cause Twenty thousand acres of Land to be surveyed in one Contiguous Tract in such part of the Said Province as the said Andrew Turnbull or his Attorneys shall chuse, not already Granted or Surveyed to others, and upon the return of such Survey; conformable to His Majesty's Directions in His general Instructions, he do pass a Grant for the same to said Andrew Turnbull under the Seal of the

Minorcans-6.

said Province, upon the following Terms, Conditions and Reservations--Vizt:

"That the Grantee do settle the Lands with Protestant white Inhabitants within Ten Years from the Date of the Grant, in the proportion of one person for every hundred Acres.

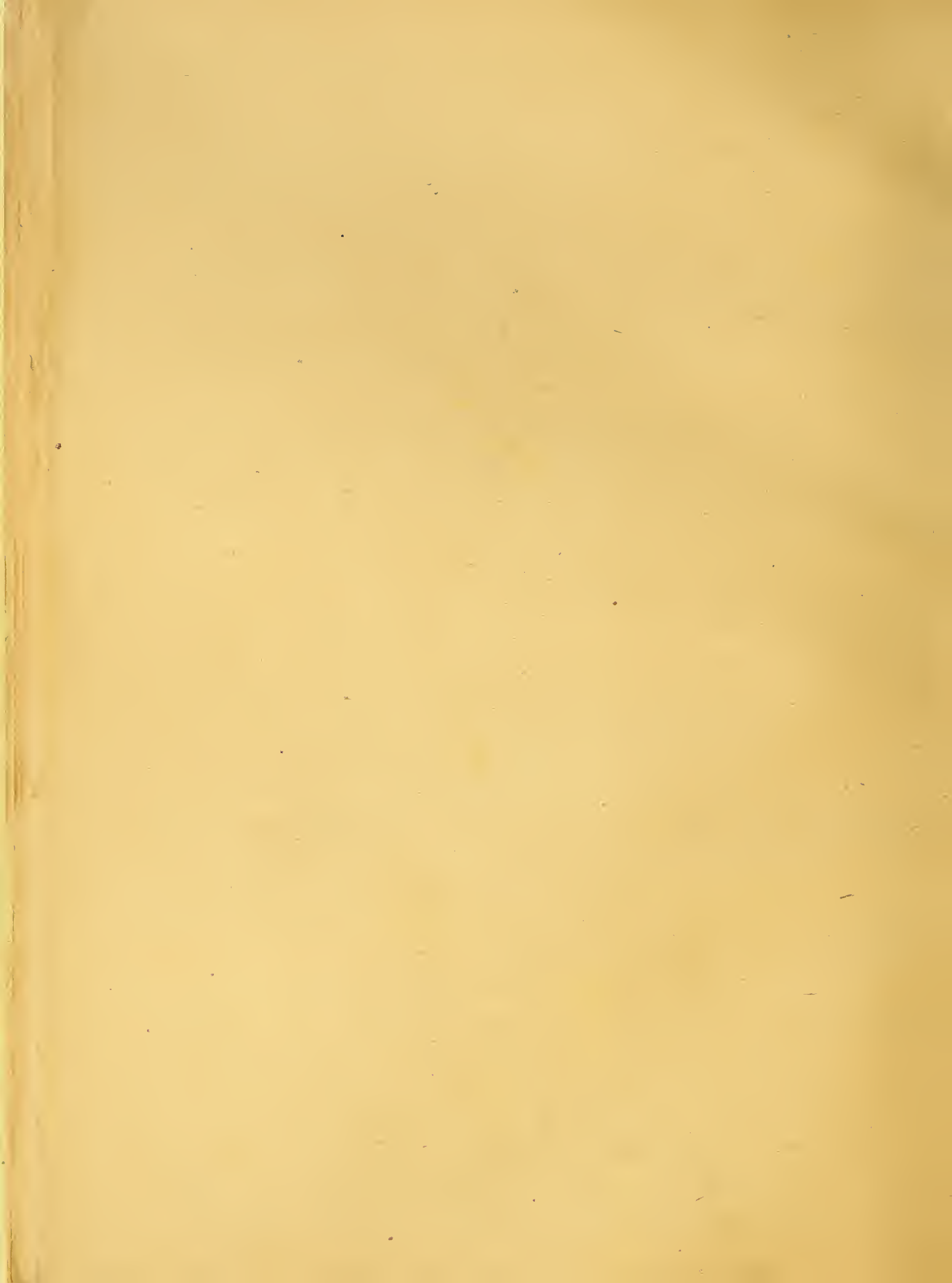
"That if one third of the Land is not settled with ~~the~~ Protestant White Inhabitants within three years from the date of the Grant, the whole be forfeited to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors.

"That an annual Quit Rent of one half penny sterling per Acre be reserved to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, Payable on the Feast of St. Michael in every Year to commence and become Payable upon one half of the said Land on the Feast of St. Michael or within fourteen days after, which shall first happen after the Expiration of Five Years from the Date of the Grant, and to be payable every ensuing Feast of St. Michael, or within fourteen days after, and the whole quantity to be Subject in like manner to the like quit Rent, at the expiration of Ten Years.

"That there be a Reservation in the said Grant, to His Majesty His Heirs and Successors, of all those parts of the Land which the Surveyor shall upon Return of the Survey, Report to be proper for the erecting of Fortifications, Public Wharfs and Naval Yards or for other Military Purposes.

"That there be a Reservation to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, of all Mines of Gold, Silver, Copper, Lead and Coals.

"That if any part of the Land shall appear by the Surveyor's Report to be well adapted to the Growth of Hemp or Flax it shall be a condition of the Grant, that the Grantee shall sow and continue Annually to Cultivate a due proportion of the Land not less than one acre in every thousand, with that beneficial Article of Produce.



And the Governor or Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Province of East Florida for the time being and all others whom it may concern, are required to carry His Majesty's Commands herewith signified into Execution.

6.
(Signed) Robert Walpole."

6. C.O. 5/548, p. 363.

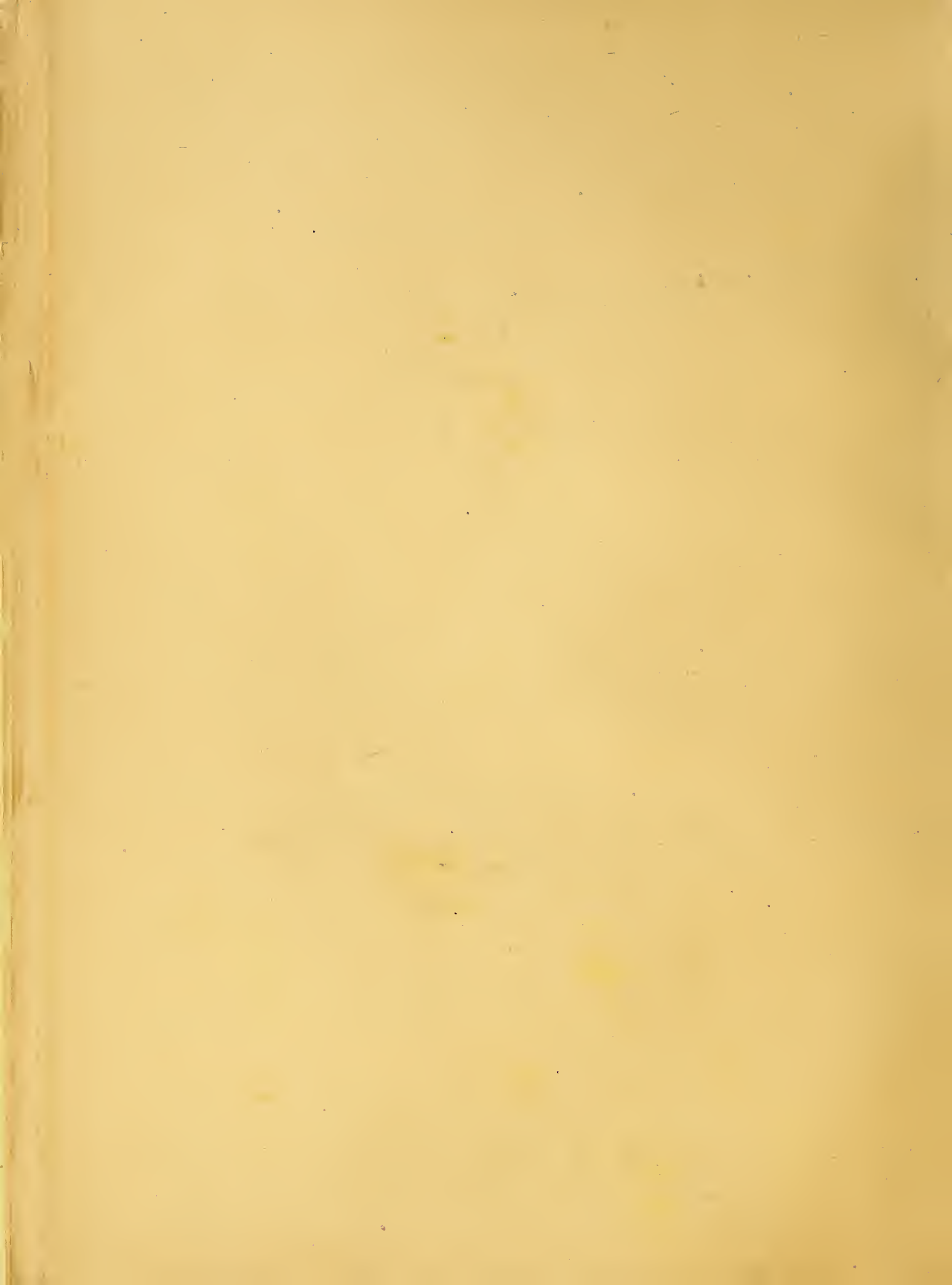
of 20,000 acres

A grant/containing identical conditions was made to
on
Sir William Duncan, Baronet, ~~at~~ the same date.

It will be noted that these grants ~~would have~~ required the settlement of 10 "Protestant White Inhabitants" to each 1,000 acres within ten years and that one third of these settlers must be on the land within three years. A similar condition was incorporated into other land grants issued during the period, but this seems to have been generally ignored by the planters coming into Florida from the other English colonies as well as by the Governor himself, as most of them worked their lands with negro slave labor and the only white inhabitants were supervisory employees.

It appears that Dr. Turnbull had the same sort of operation in mind, on his first coming to Florida. He arrived at St. Augustine in November 1766 and ~~located~~ selected a location on the Hillsborough River, south of Mosquito Inlet for both his own and Duncan's land. According to Governor Grant the Doctor's first intention was to establish a cotton plantation for which he purchased negroes, placed them under an experienced planter whom he had engaged to settle there.

It also seems probable that the idea of bringing foreign~~ers~~ white settlers was a later conception, perhaps due to his reading the pamphlet of Menzies, or it may be the idea developed in his discussions with the Governor with whom he was on very friendly terms. At least, in the letter of Grant of this time, it is

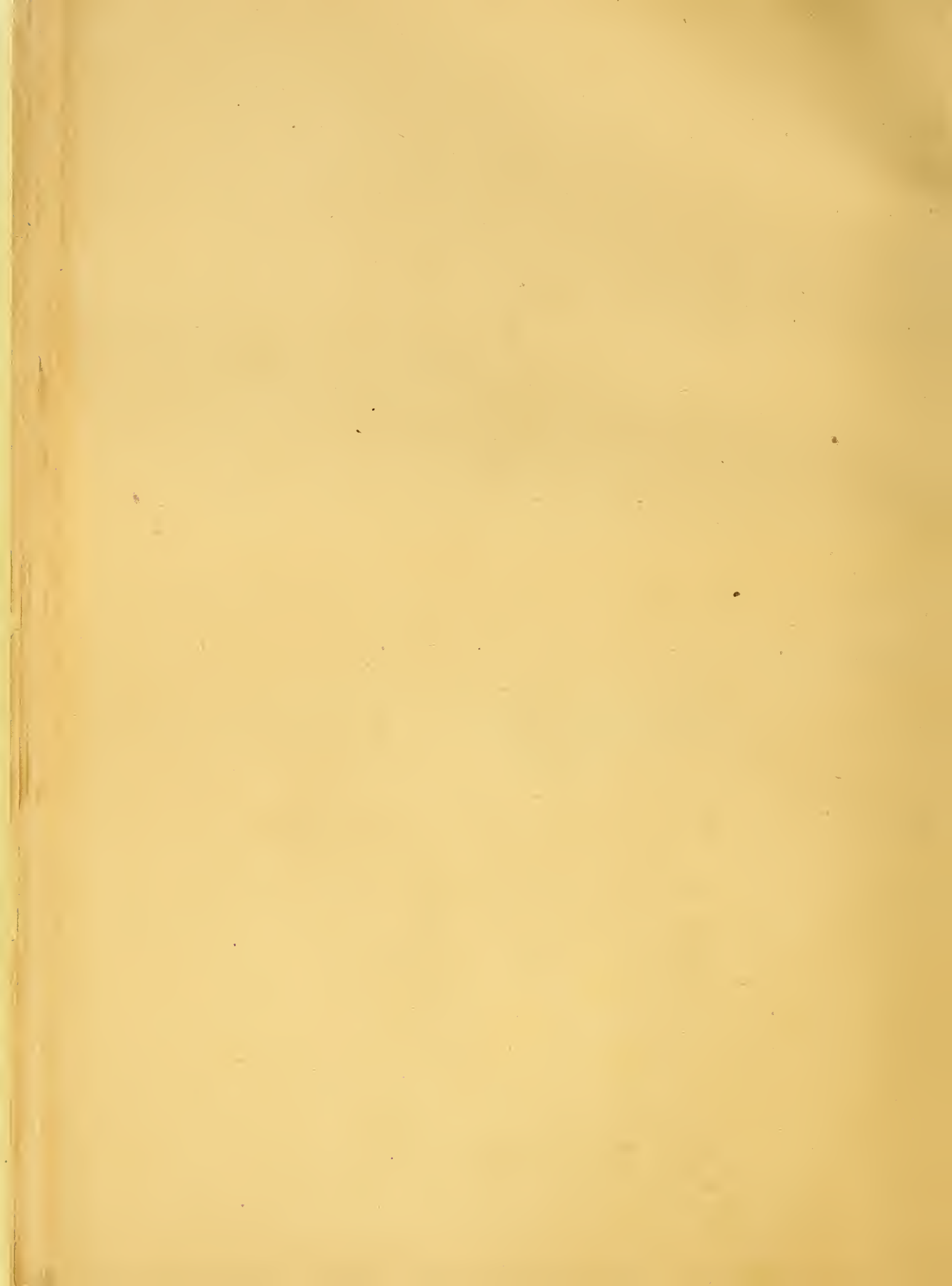


stated that the negroes have been put to work clearing land and erecting houses for the reception of settlers, for the Governor writes ~~xxxxxxx~~ "Mr. Turnbull having settled his Business and Family sets here, ~~sets~~ out in a few days for England, in his way to Turkey, from whence he expects to bring five hundred Greek Christians, in ten or twelve Months, the Importation of them will be attended with great Expense, as he will be under the necessity of Shifting the People and their Provisions, out of the Vessels which bring them from Turkey, into other Vessels which he must agree for to meet him at Gibraltar;" and continues by stating that the ~~Dr.~~ Doctor does not expect an allowance from the Government for this expense, but as a premium is given in the other colonies for the importation of white settlershe hopes to receive a like premium for those he imports.
7.

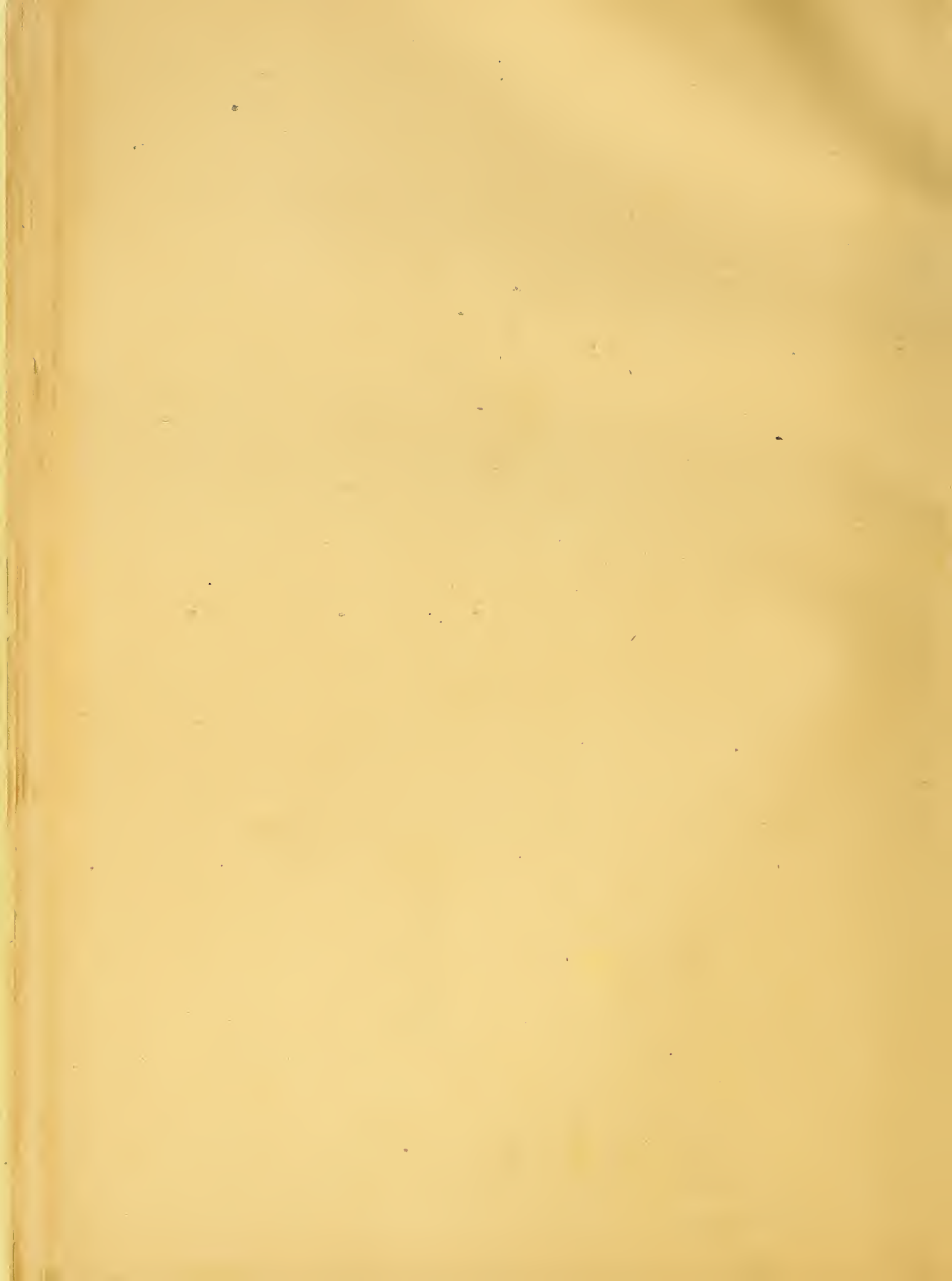
7. Grant to Lord Shelburne, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, Jan. 20, 1767. C.O. 5/541, pp.199-201.

On his return to England Dr. Turnbull became very active in promoting this idea^{(insert from Page 10 presented} ~~and presented~~ a narrative/to ~~xxxxxxx~~ on September 1, 1766,¹ Lord Shelburne/which sets out in detail his plan as developed to that date, from which the following is quoted:

"During my Residence in Turkey and in Travelling thro' Greece I observed that the Christian subjects in that Empire were in General disposed to fly from the Calamities which they groaned under in that despotic Government. On which it occurred to me that the Greeks would be proper^a/people for Settling in His Majesty's Southern Provinces of North America. They being bred to the making of Silk and to the culture of the Vine, Cotton, Madder &c. and many of them declared to me that they would embrace the first opportunity of Flying from that Country of Slavery and Oppression where their lives & properties were at the will of their hard Masters. These repeated declarations from thousands of that people engaged me to



petition his Majesty for a tract of land in East Florida, on which I might settle a small colony of Greeks. In June last I obtained his Majesty's Order in Council for such a tract as I had petitioned for. But as the reports of the fertility of the soil and healthiness of the climate were various and even contradictory, I went to America that I might judge of the climate & fitness of the soil in East Florida for raising such productions as the Greeks were accustomed to cultivate. My Enquiries were made agreeable by the satisfactory evidence I found every where of the healthiness of the Climate and strength of the soil which is particularly favorable to the cultivation of cochineal, indigo, madder, rue hemp & many other useful articles of commerce--especially cotton which is produced in East Florida of such excellent quality that it induced me to establish a considerable cotton plantation before I left that province. I now intend to depart for Greece in order to accompany the first Greek colonists from Turkey to East Florida, but as the extraordinary expense of carrying people to the colony where a very high freight must be paid, because not frequented by shipping and also the Great expense of maintaining them for one year at least in a new Country which for want of laboring hands does not furnish provisions for even the twentiethpart of its present Inhabitants added to the many unforeseen expensive accidents which generally attend new Undertakings, must fall very heavy on the first Adventurers. I have therefore presented a Memorial to the first Lord of Trades and Plantations in which I represented the necessity for aid for alleviating these extraordinary expenses & in that memorial I solicited the loan of one of the laid up sloops of war which I offered to man, victual and navigate at my expense & to be continually employed in carrying Greek families to East Florida from Minorca where I intend to appoint a Rendezvous. I also have represented the propriety of applying the £ 1500 arising from the last



three years Bounty of £ 500 granted by parliament for the encouragement of the Cultivation of Cotton &c. in the province of East Florida which is hitherto unapplied by way of Bounty at £ 3 per head for the first Greeks landed in East Florida... I proposed likewise in that Memorial that the future annual Bounty of £ 500 should be applied in the following manner. That £ 400 should be laid out yearly in making Roads and establishing Ferries for the opening up a communication with Georgia, West Florida & the southern parts of the province, and that the remaining £ 100 of the Annual Bounty should be given as a salary or stipend to the pastor & schoolmaster who accompanys the first 500 Greek settlers....."

A closing paragraph states that great advantage will accrue from his proposed developments and that he hopes to receive the bounty. A letter of transmittal states that the bounty is not requested as a condition but as an assistance.

§. 9.

9. 8. Mss of the Marquis of Landsdowne, Vol.88,f.133.

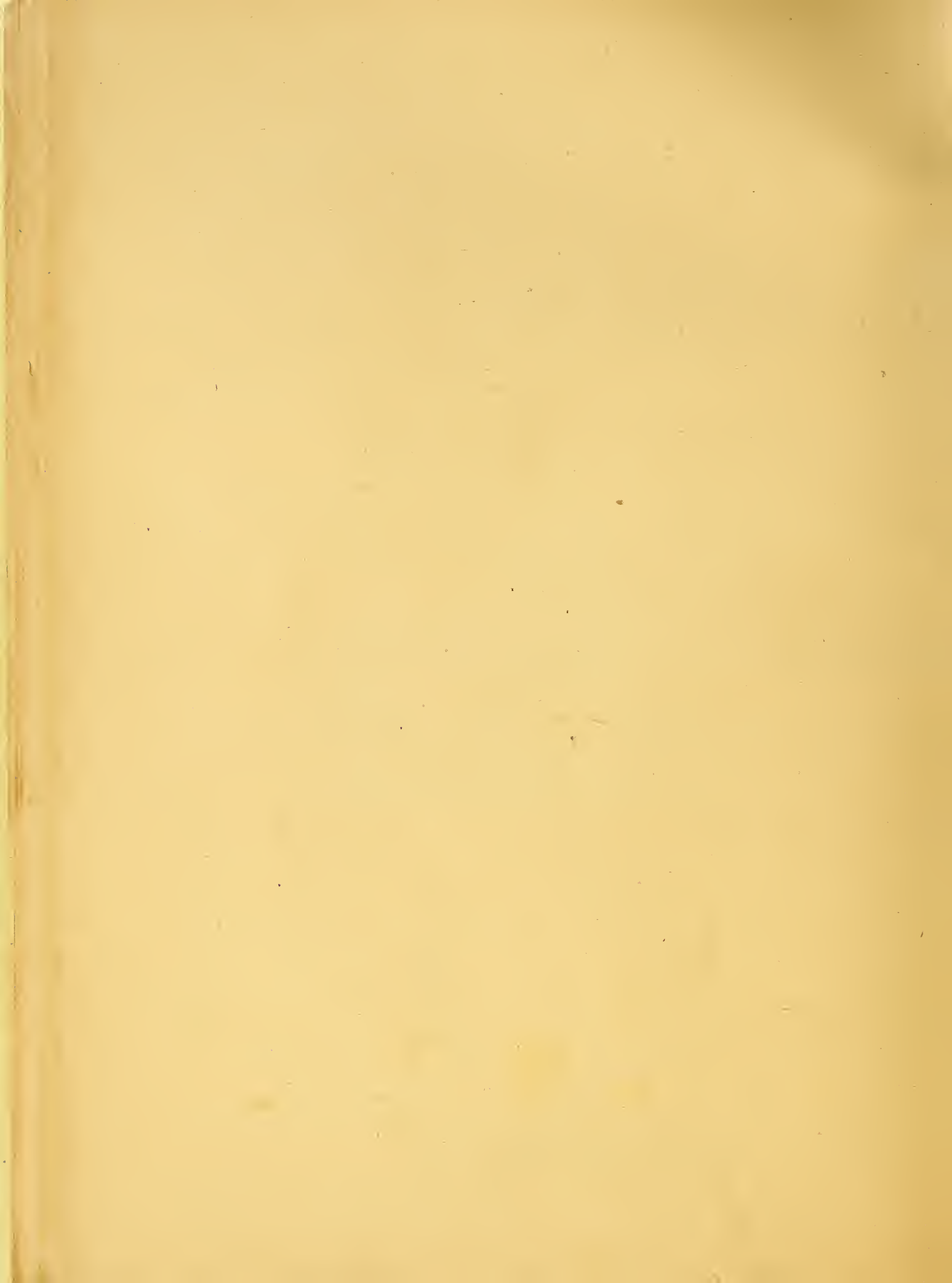
(Insert following "Promoting this idea" on p.8. change number of note 8 above to correspond)

idea. He was able to interest Lord George Grenville as represented by Sir Richard Temple a silent partner, and who in turn obtained a grant for 20, 000 acres and on April 2, 1767 an agreement was entered into as to how the settlement was to be developed and the profits divided. The sum which these partners agreed to invest was not to exceed £ 9,000 sterling for seven years at the end of which term there was to be a division allotting each partner "an equal quantity of buildings, improved lands, Negroes and stock". There is no mention in this agreement of what was to become of the Greek settlers.

8.

8. Treasury 77/7 This is an abstract dated March 9, 1781, which recites the original agreement.

The petition referred to in the "Narrative" was presented on March 31, 1767, promptly after Tunbull's return from to London from East Florida. There is little doubt



that the request for the bounty developed from conversations with Governor Grant as the proposal for building roads was one of the Governor's projects. The loan of a "laid up sloop of war" to be used in transporting colonists is identical with the suggestion of Dr. Stork with the exception that Greeks are substituted for Stork's Germans, however, Turnbull's proposal was for a colonization actually actually underway, while Stork had merely made a suggestion of what he could do.

At This stage of the development finds Turnbull associated with financially and politically potent partners. His request for the sloop was granted without demurrer, but the bounty, although granted was reduced to 40 shillings per head (children excepted) for the first 500 Greeks imported, making the total amount £ 1,000 and the proposal for a £100 annual salary "to the first Priest of the Greek Church which shall be established in this Colony" was postponed for consideration at a later date.^{10.}

10. C.O. 5/563. pp 226-228.

These preliminaries having been arranged in London, Dr. Turnbull set sail, presumably in the loaned sloop of war, and on July 10, 1767, was in the Port of Mahon, Minorca, having returned from a side trip to Leghorn, Italy. Why the plan was changed to include Italians as well as Greeks does not appear in any of the correspondence, but changed it was, possibly because the Doctor had learned that he could obtain there "sober and industrious people ...who offer their labor at half the price usually given to British subjects carried to the colonies." As a result of this divergence from the original plan 110 Italian husbandmen were contracted with. When the Governor of Leghorn was informed that these Italian subjects were to be shipped he agreed to the departure of strangers but objected to any Genoese or silk manufacturers being taken. This, the Doctor says, was duly attended to, but on the Governor's

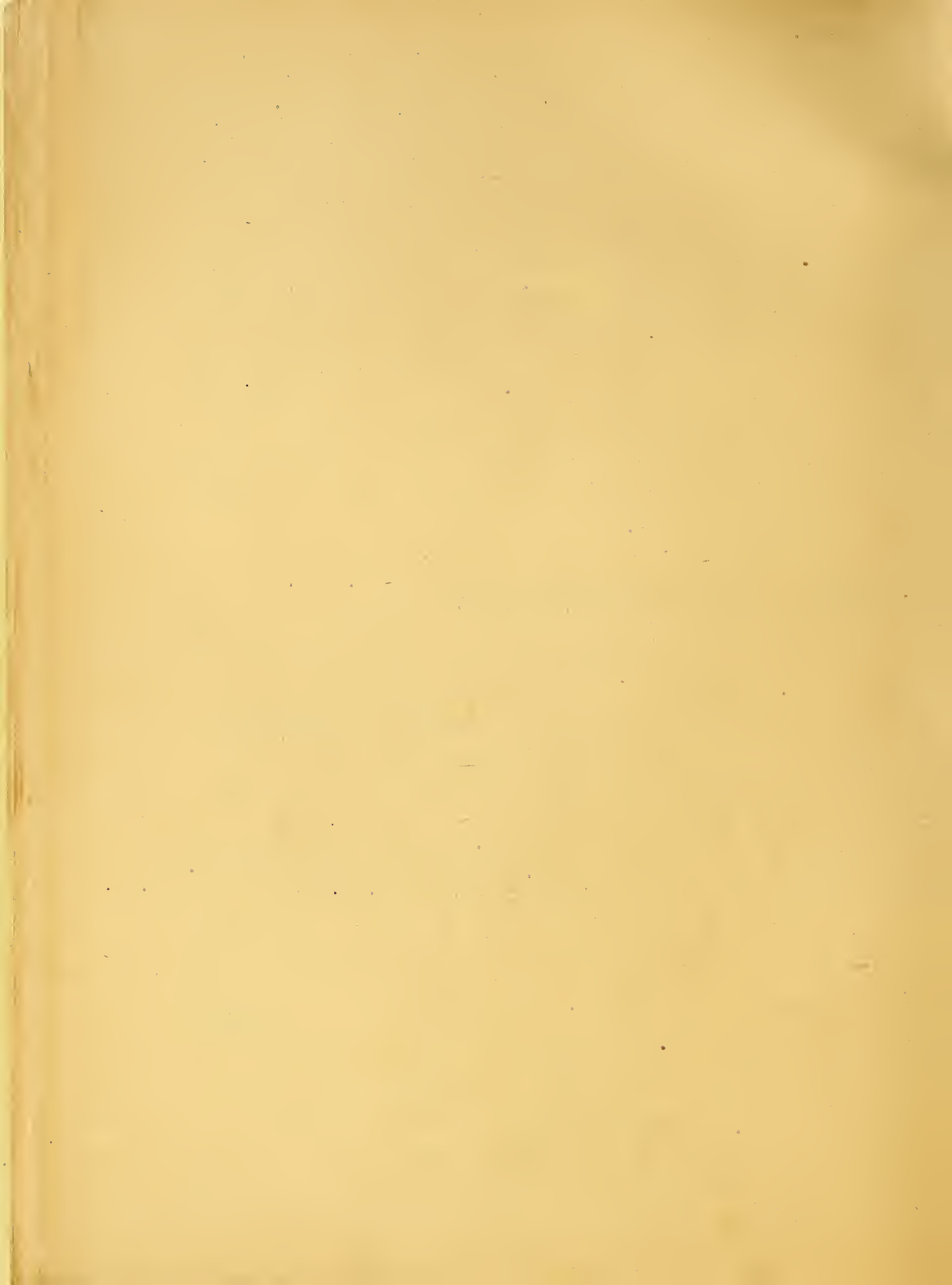
Minorcans-12.

seeing the size of the scheme he tried to upset it and sent threatening messages to those who were already embarked. Another change in plans was that of using Leghorn as a rendezvous for Italians and Greeks, a ship having already been ordered to be there in October, but although ~~ix~~ ~~ix~~ Turnbull requested that instructions be sent to the British counsel at Leghorn to assist him in this plan, he finally decided to take his 110 husbandmen to Mahon, where they would be safe from Italian governmental interference, Minorca being at that time a British Colony. This he successfully accomplished, leaving Leghorn on June 27 and arriving at Mahon on July 5, from which port he proposed to sail for the Levant on July 11th with the expectation of returning by October or November.^{11.}

11. Turnbull at Mahon to Shelburne, July 10, 1767. Mss. of the Marquis of Landsdowne, Vol. 88, f. 135.

During his stay at Mahon Turnbull had written to Governor Grant, at St. Augustine, telling him to expect him in January with 500 working hands, exclusive of children, "~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~" and Grant in a letter to Lord Hillsborough mentions, "at his desire I have ordered four months provisions for that number to be carried to New Smyrna, which Mr. Turnbull will find in store upon his arrival there."^{12.} /Grant to Hillsborough Dec. 27, 1767, C.O. 5.549. p. 49. /no. 13.

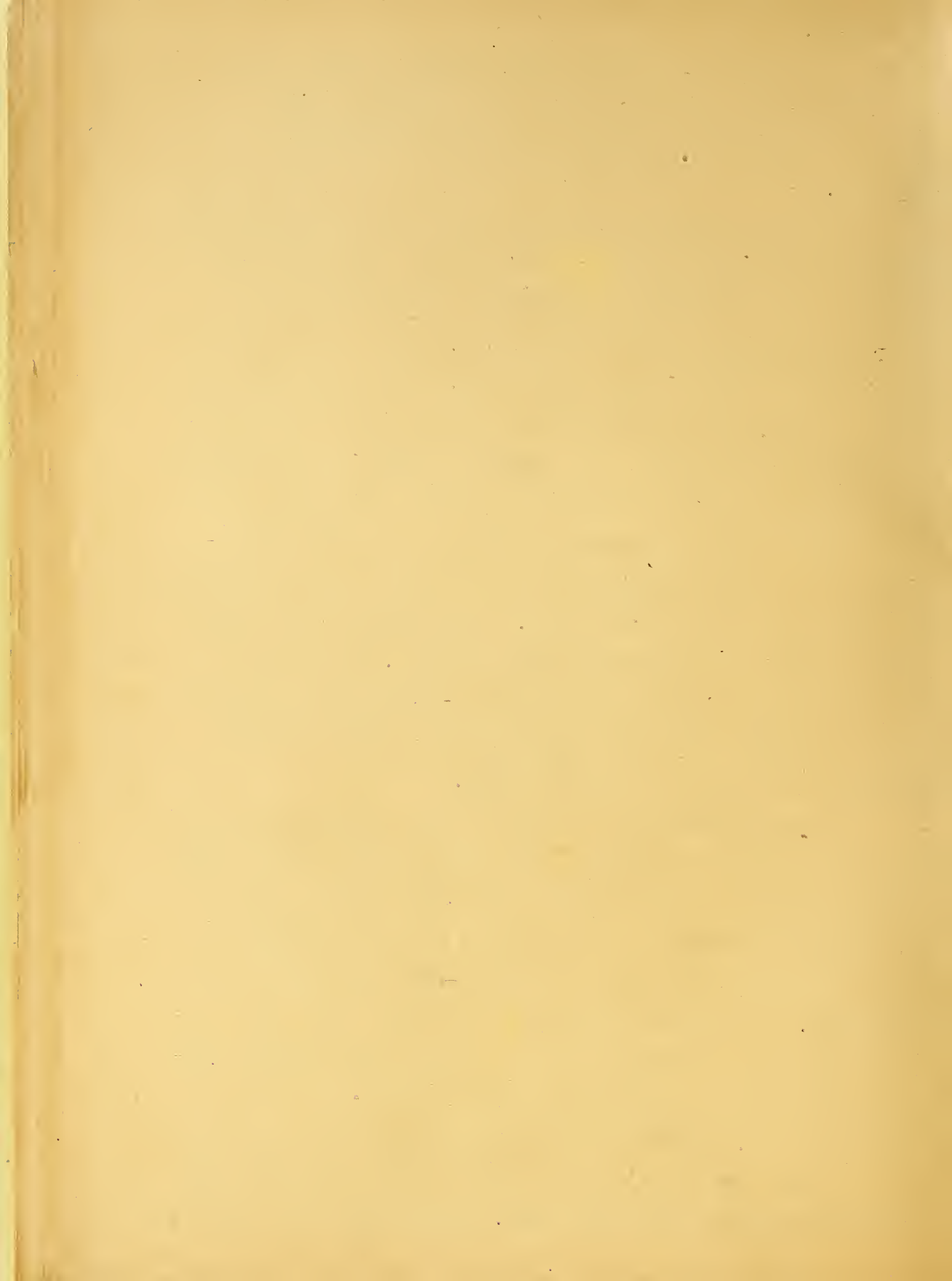
As this is the first mention of the name for the intended settlement it is opportune to list the various names by which the settlement is referred to. The name given his development by Doctor Turnbull was New Smyrna in compliment to his ^{Grecian} wife, Gracia Dura Bin whom he had married in Smyrna, Turkey during his residence there. In many documents the "New" is omitted and the settlement referred to as Smyrna or Smyrnea. Due to the original plan of peopling the settlement entirely with Greeks it is often referred to as The Greek Settlement. For geographical



reasons, being close to Mosquito Inlet (present Ponce de Leon Inlet) it is often designated by the name Mosquito or The Mosquitoes and at times referred to merely as Turnbull's Settlement.

To return to the Doctor, whom we left at Mahon, nothing more was heard from him until the 27th of February, when in a letter addressed to Lord Shelburne, who has been superseded by Lord Hillsborough as Secty for the Colonies, he tells of his arrival on February 3, at Mahon/after a long passage from Turkey. One of his ships had arrived before him and he is in daily expectation of the arrival of another with 200 Greeks. The numbers brought on the precedidn ship and on his own are not mentioned, but he writes that these greeks, added to the men, women and children now with him (including, it is to be supposed, the 110 Italians before mentioned) "will make nigh to a thousand in all." He hopes to to be ready to sail for Florida before the middle of March. His account of his experience in obtaining these Greeks and his description of the sort of people they were deserves, in the light of later knowledge, to be quoted in his own words.

"I was particularly careful, My Lord, when in the Levant seas, not to give any umbrage to the Ottoman Porte, and on that account I took only such Greeks as the Turks wish out of their way. Those now with me are from among a people who inhabit a chain of mountains which makes the southermost promontory of the Peloponnese. That people submitted to the Turks when they conquered Morea in the beginning of this century, but finding themselves hardly used, they shook off their fetters, and continue free to this day. The Turks have often attempted to bring them under subjection, but have always failed from the impracticability of attacking them in their mountains. These Greeks are ruled by



Minorcans-14.

Chiefs called Captains, to whom they pay a small tribute yearly to enable him to provide warlike ammunition to defend them against the Turks. This, however, is frequently consumed in Civil Wars among themselves. Several mountains in the Turkish Empire are inhabited by people who maintain their liberty in this manner, & who rather chuse to work hard in cultivating the little pieces of ground they find among the mountains, than to live under tyranny in the fertile and extensive plains under them. I have troubled your Lordship with this account of the taking of the settlers for Florida from among them, which I did not mention to you, My Lord, nor did it enter into my first plan, which I was hindered from pursuing by the Turks being on their Guard everywhere, having been informed of my scheme by the Levant Company's Consuls. Ill grounded Apprehensions or Jealousy had influenced them to make it public in all places, of which I felt the effects at Modon in the Morea, for on being obliged to put in there for refreshments for my people, after keeping at sea as long as I could in the worst weather I ever saw, on sending a boat with ten men ashore for water they were taken into custody." The men were released the next day in consideration of a present made to the commanding officer of the Turkish garrison who requested the people be not permitted on deck as he feared a complaint they should be detained as rebels. Here the Doctor states some of his own opinions regarding the thousands of families which might be drawn from Greece and Italy to England's southern provinces in America, and continues, "They are skilled in the culture of many articles wanted in America. It is for this reason I carry with me ginns for cleaning cotton, with several models of engines of agriculture. I have also taken such grains, seeds & plants as that climate will probably produce. Vines, olives and mulberries are not left out of this collection." This is followed by what is apparently the



Minorcans-15.

first realization by the Doctor that his scheme was becoming somewhat unwieldly , although he gives no indication of realizing that his original financing has not g kept pace with the growth ~~of~~ in number of settlers. "As ...as your Lordship's assistance and encouragement engaged me to enter this colonization scheme in a much larger way than I at first intended I shall ever endeavour to deserve your approbation in forwarding this manner of peopling the Southern Provinces of North America...." As an afterthought he writes toward the close of this letter, "I forgot to mention, My Lord, that my numbers increase daily from marriages between the Italians I brought here & the young women of this Island /Minorca/ which I encourage...." 13. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ 16.

13. Turnbull (at Mahon) to Shelburne, February 27, 1768. Mss of the Marquis of Landsdowne, Vol.88, f.147. Insert from p.16

It was these marriages, and the desire of the brides to bring their parents with them, which not only swelled the numbers/^{far}beyond the intention of the original plan , but also introduced blood of the greatest survival value. It also necessitated the engagement of eight ships to bring them to Florida thus further depleting the funds available for establishing the settlement. An undated return among papers in the British Colonial Office gives this detail of the ^{14.16}odyyssey.

Charming Betsey.....	232
Henry and Carolina.....	142
Elizabeth.....	190
Friendship.....	198
New Fortune.....	226
Hope.....	150
American Soldier.....	145
Betsey.....	120
Total	1403

Men, Women and Children.

Far beyond the original 500 for which Governor Grant had provided four months provisions at New Smyrnea or for which the negroes working at the settlement site had provided housing.

The voyage across the Atlantic was long and tedious. In Florida, Governor Grant, advised that the fleet was on its way and erroneously Briefly/advised, in a letter from Hillsborough, dated at Whitehall, March 10, 1768, "It is with great pleasure I acquaint you that Dr. Turnbull is before this Time sailed for Minorca with seven hundred Settlers, in which Two Hundred are Greeks, I am persuaded it is unnecessary to recommend this undertaking to your protection." 15 15. C.O. 5/549, p.75. (Check for "For" or "From" Minorca.

Insert p.15.

It was not until the 29th of March that the expedition left Mahon. On the day previous to this departure the Doctor writes that he has now twelve hundred men, women and children on board six ships and as many of them are from nations at war with the Barbary States he fears this might give pretext to their cruisers molesting him, so he has arranged to be conveyed by the British frigate Carysfoot to convoy him as far as Gibraltar and intends to petition for another escort as far as the Madeiras. 14

14. Mss of Marquis of Landsdowne Vol.88, f.151.

On arrival at Gibraltar on April 4, 1768, he ~~finds~~ writes that instead of losing a hundred or more by desertion, as he had expected, he now has more people than are on his list and was compelled to hire a Danish ship as the number of voyagers has now mounted to more than 1,400. The Danish ship was unable to go beyond to ~~St. Mark's~~ America. Two English ships were obtained to carry those which the Danish ship had brought from Mahon to Gibraltar. The ~~letter concludes with the encouraging statement, "All the people~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ Went of shipping and other conveniences obliged the Doctor to "many able husbandmen who had found means to get on the ships with the others, and this was fortunate as at this stage of the enterprise he seems to be obsessed with the idea of bringing

for whom he could obtain ships, without any thought for the scanty provisions made for their reception in Florida or where the money was coming from to support them untill their first crops were harvested. The letter concludes with this encouraging statement "All the people are healthy and very fit for a new colony for there is not a deformed nor maimed person among them. I have lost none as yet but have increased five by Births since we left Mahon." 15.

15. Mss. of Marquis of Lansdowne (is it Lans or Lands?) Vol. 88, f. 151

An undated return etc. (insert from p. 15)

--*****

In Florida, on March 12, 1768, writes that he "looks for their arrival every hour." He has received a letter from Turnbull sent from Milo on the 24th of the preceeding September, when the Doctor was on his way to embark the Greeks, and has made every preparation for their reception when they arrive at the "Moschetto." While it is Turnbull's plan to land the colonists at St. Augustine, the Governor is of the opinion "the Moschetto Inlet will answer much better, upon going ashore there they will find houses prepared for them, and they may go to work as soon as they please after landing." Therefore when the Doctor's Vessels come in sight, I shall write him to proceed to the Mosquettos, where he will find the Provincial Schooner and other Vessels ready to assist in Disembarking his people." 16.

16. Grant to Hillsborough, March 12, 1768. No. 15. C.O. 5/549, pp 77-78

It was to be a long wait for the Governor, for the expedition did not leave Gibraltar until about the middle of April and the passage across the Atlantic was a tedious one. Secure in the belief that the preparations he had made for the reception of 500 Greeks he must have been startled and made even more anxious

Minorcans--18.

by a letter from Hillsborough, dated May 12, 1768, which contained this information, "I had a letter lately from Dr. Turnbull, dated from Gibraltar, by which I find he has with him upwards of a thousand Colonists, Greeks and others; this will be a noble Addition to your Infant Settlement, and I shall be very glad to hear of their safe arrival."

17.

17. Hillsborough to Grant, May 12, 1768. No. 9. C.O. 5/549, p. 81.

It was not until June 26th that Dr. Turnbull arrived at St. Augustine, so the time, if any, between receipt of notice of this great increase in the number of colonists and their actual arrival would be too short to permit and substantial revision in the preparations for their arrival. Grant's plan to have them landed directly at Mosquito Inlet also went astray. Four of the ships, with about 700 settlers, arrived at St. Augustine on the date given above. The other four were expected daily but the Governor was "apprehensive that the Gulf Stream had carried them to the Northward, and if that is the case, the Current with the Southerly Winds which we have at this Season of the Year will probably make a tedious navigation." This was not written until July 20, so these four vessels were then nearly a month overdue. Enthusiastic over this great addition to the population of East Florida, but at the same time looking to the future, Grant continues, in this letter to Hillsborough, of July 20th, "This, My Lord I believe is the largest Importation of White Inhabitants that was ever brought to America at a time. The Doctor is a zealous, active, enterprising Colonist, and is ^{as} likely to succeed in an extensive plan as any Man, I know -- but the Expence which has attended this undertaking must be so very considerable, that if he is not supported I doubt much of its turning out to good account.

"The Doctor is sanguine in his Expectations from the Labor and Industry of those people, who he tells me live ill and

Minorcans-19.

work very hard at home--they are 'tis true more likely to be permanent, than other White Inhabitants who are brought to America, as they will be settled in a Body and as they speak a different Language from their Neighbors they will not ~~be~~ be so easily seduced away from their Master.

"Most of them are to be fixed in Familys, and to have half t the produce, which is well judgēd on the Dr's part, as it is the surest, indeed the only method of making new Adventurers Industrious, for no Man in America can be prevailed upon to work for his Master in order to repay the Expence which the Master may have been put upon his account--on the Contrary if a Servant has not an immediate Prospect of Profit to Himself, he takes care that his Labour shall not pay for his clothes and Subsistence...." ^{18.}

18. Grant to Hillsborough, July 20, 1786. No.7. C.O. 5/541 p.?

This is one of the few references to the terms on which these settlers were brought to New Smyrna. The English common law of Master and Servant was then in force throught all British American colonies. Under the common practice of this law it was possible for a male or female person, known as the Servant, to enter into a contract with a Master to work, usually for a fixed term of years, for no compensation other than food and as payment for some named clothes, ~~unlike xxxxxxxxxx debt. xxxxxx~~ Usually, with settlers coming to the colonies, this debt was the cost of their transportation. It was a purely private contract between the two parties and in theory either party could have access to the courts to compel specific performance. The Master having the right to inflict ordinary punishment on the Servant led to many abuses. On the other hand, if the Servant could escape from the Master, and remain uncaptured, he obtained his transportation for little labor; but escaped servants could be repossessed by legal means.

Just what terms the Doctor made with his servants and if there was a different contract for each servant remains difficult to state. Whether these servants knew the contents of the indentures they signed, at the time they signed them, is now impossible to determine. ~~xxxx~~ Documents referred to later in this account ~~give~~ show but few additional details.

Governor Grant's next letter to Lord Hillsborough, dated August 29, tells of the arrival of the remaining four ships safely at St. Augustine. The 1400 settlers were sent from there to New Smyrnea, some by water and some by land, and all were settled upon plantations by August 10th. They went regularly to work and for the time had done a great deal of clearing land and planting. "When Doctor Turnbull and some Gentlemen from North Carolina went to visit the Settlement, the Carolina Planters were astonished at the Progress which had been made, they agreed that the same number of negroes could not have done more and that it must turn out to be the best Settlement upon the Continent of North America." In reading the remainder of the letter one need but recall the description given by Dr. Turnbull of the warlike and liberty loving ~~xxxxxx~~ Greeks, who the Turks, were unable to subdue to understand their reaction to their new home.

"The Doctor and those Gentlemen remained a few days at New Smyrnea, and everybody appeared to be in perfect good humor the 18th instant, when they left it. Work went on as usual, and everything continued quiet 'till the 19th when Carlo Forne one of the overseers, at eleven o'clock in the Forenoon, declared himself Captain General and Commander in Chief of the Greeks and Italians, made himself Master of the Store house and Fire Arms, confined and wounded the Doctor's principal Manager, declared his intention of proceeding to the Havana and gave Orders to put any of his people to Death who should attempt to escape, and desert the

Minorcans-21.

Service; Rum was given in plenty--which is a prevailing Argument in these woods, and the Rioters who at first did not consist of ~~a~~ above Twenty, soon increased to two or three hundred--the Confusion great, the Store houses were plundered, Casks of Rum, Wine and Oyl which could not be put on Board the Vessel were staved--and all the Rioters loaded themselves with poor Doctor's Slops; which he had provided for their use, they even plundered the Mahonese who did not join them--When things were in this situation two Italians who continued faithful to their Master contrived to make their Escape and got to a Plantation of the Doctor's which is about four miles from New Smyrnea-- The Overseer upon receiving the information, immediately dispatched an Express to Mr. Turnbull with an Account of the unlucky affair which had happened, and according to Custom represented things to be in a worse state than they really were--The Express got to the Doctor at Mr. Oswald's in his way to Town the 19th at twelve at night. Mr. Turnbull, Your Lordship may believe, was much alarmed, it was hard upon him to see a Settlement broke up, which he had been at so much trouble and Expense in forming: he sent an Express to inform me of his Situation and beg that assistance might be sent to him, as he was to return to the Moschetto Inlet, to see if anything could be attempted against the Felons--I received his letter the 20th Instant at eight at night, and in nine hours I had the East Florida with another Vessel under sail, with Troops, Provisions, Ammunition and everything necessary to pursue the Greeks in case the East Florida should not get in time to the Moschetto Harbor, to prevent their carrying out the Vessel, which they had ~~seized~~ seized. Expedition was necessary, the Greeks and Italians had not lost a moment, the East Florida found their Vessel the 22d in the morning with 300 men on Board within a Cable's length of the

Bar, waiting for proper time of Tyde to get out, but they struck upon her firing a Gun...the Italians seized the Vessel the 19th at eleven ~~at~~ o'clock, and she was taken at the same hour on the 22d-- a Detachment was likewise sent by Land but the Roads are so bad and the Distance is so great that the Troops could not have got there in time to prevent their Vessel getting out of the Harbor...

"From the Accounts which I have received from the Doctor his loss I think may amount to four or five hundred pounds at most, but in this Computation I set no value upon thirty-five of the principal Mutineers who made their Escape in Boats, for by getting rid of such Turbulant troublesome People Mr. Turnbull's business should go on better."

One thing which stands out in this narrative, though not expressed by the Governor, is the personal courage of Dr. Turnbull. Few men would have ~~xxxx~~^{ridden} alone, at night, into a riot of two or three hundred men, many of whom were armed. In the continuance of Grant's letter he refers to another possible source of annoyance to the colony which later developed into reality.

"It was to be expected, My Lord, that so great a number of people collected together, in so many parts of the World, and imported into an infant Country at the same time might get into Riots and give Trouble at times, but I did not look to their carrying things to such a Height, I was under more uneasiness about them, than afraid of them, for I am apprehensive that our neighbors, the Indians, will not be fond of either their Language or Complexion as both resemble the Spaniards-which the Indians have a mortal antipathy to." A body of Indians had recently visited St. Augustine and to them the Governor had explained that while the new settlers at ~~xxx~~ New Smyrna were not English they were subjects of the English king who had been oppressed by the Spaniards and hated them. Perhaps this divergence from truth by His Excellency

may be pardoned because of its intention. The Greeks had not been oppressed by the Spaniards, but by the Turks. The Italians and Spanish had had many wars and there was little cause for them to love each other, but the Minorcans came from an island then in British hands where living conditions were almost intolerable due to crop failures with little apparent effort on the part of Great Britain to relieve the situation. Grant then revives a former proposal of his to fortify Mosquito Inlet and maintain a garrison of at least one hundred soldiers there. ~~xxxxxx~~ While this had received tacit government approval funds were never provided to carry it into effect.

The letter concludes with this statement, "Carlo Forni and five of the Principal Offenders have been made Prisoners and are to be sent to Town to stand their Tryal--the proof against them is said to be clear, in that case they will probably be made examples of."^{19.}

19. Grant to Hillsborough, August 29, 1768. Duplicate of No.9, C.O. 5/544, pp 37-42.

In a subsequent August letter Grant writes that the principal Italian and Greek mutineers who made their escape in boats have been captured at the Florida Keys on their way to Havana, about ^{20.} twenty now being in jail in St. Augustine.

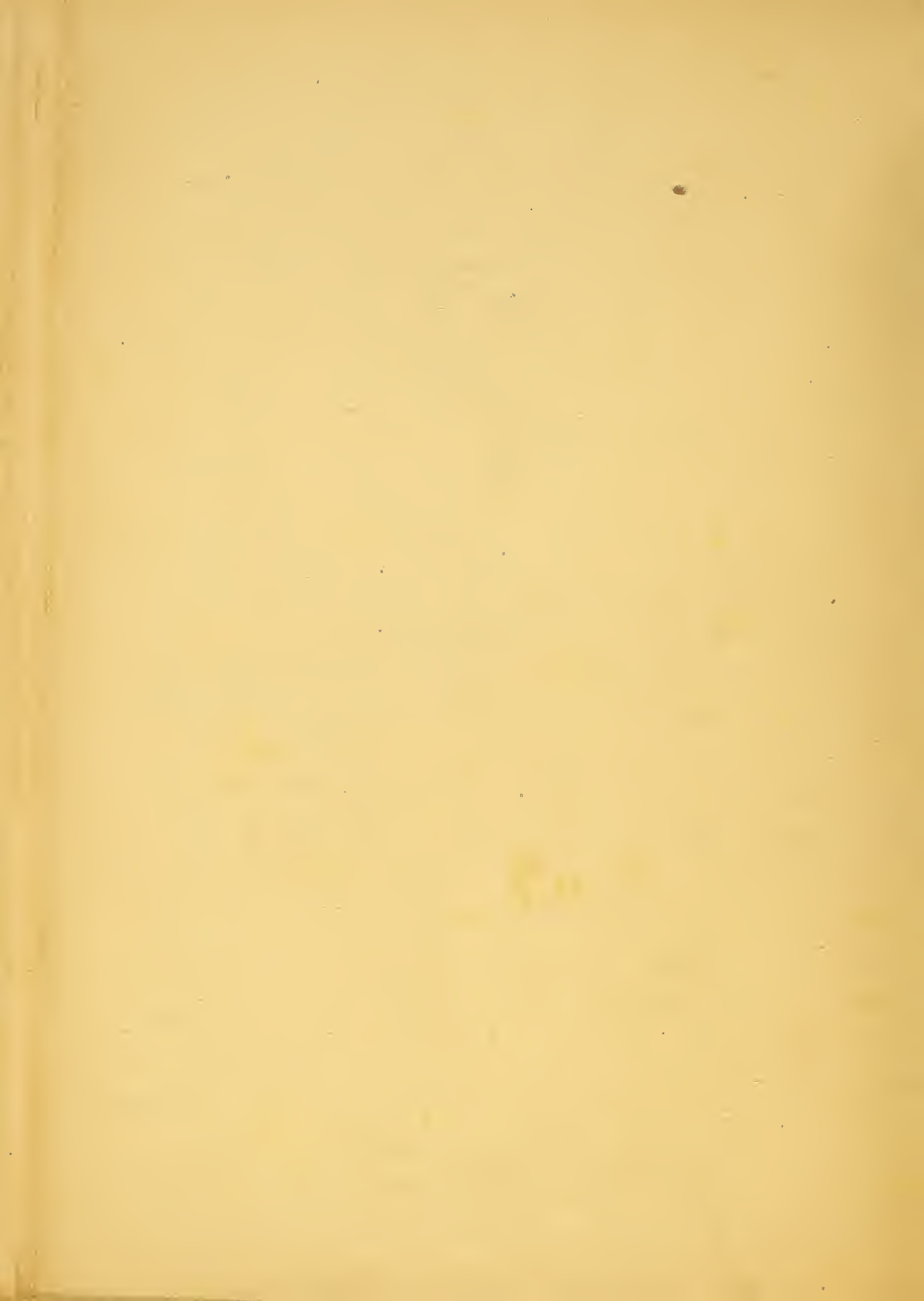
20. C.O. 5/550, p.? (get it) A duplicate of this is No.14 in C.O.5/544 pp95-96 Dated Oct 20 and also refers back to No.9

~~InxxExxDecemberxx1768~~, There were no further riots at New Smyrna. The prompt suppression of that led by Forne; and the stationing of a small detachment of soldiers in the settlement seems to have had a ~~xx~~ salutary effect however the affair was not going well in other directions. In an extensive report dated December ^{settlement} 1,1768 Grant tells of the condition of the ~~xx~~ at that time, and his fears for its future, in these words:

" The Greeks and Italians are quiet, but they have been

sickly, a seasoning no doubt was to be expected, upon their Landing, but it has been attended with worse consequences than I lookt for--they have lost about three hundred, chiefly old people and Children--Mr. Turnbull writes me that they now begin to recover fast and that the only disorder among them is a Scurvy which brings Gangrene on mostly in the Mouth--When their Gardens are got into order, 'tis to be hoped Vegetables will effectually remove the bad effects of a long and tedious Voyage from the Mediterranean. the Remedy is not distant, as our Gardens at present are much in the same situation as those in England about the end of April--at New Smyrna they should be rather advanced, and as seeds from England and other parts of America are not to be depended on, I took care to save a considerable quantity for Mr. Turnbull from my own Garden of which a Grain does not fail here, and of course he runs no risk of being ~~ana~~ disappointed in point of Vegetables.

"Twenty thousand pounds sterling at least, My Lord, have already been laid out for the Embarkation, provisions and Clothing of those people, so large a Sum is not to be recovered but by perserverance and further Expense, The Settlers may do a little for themselves in the course of the Winter and Spring, but they must be subsisted for many Months and Clothed for at least two years, before Returns can be reasonably expected--tho' they are supplied with economy and good management, there is no trifling article of Expense where twelve hundred people are concerned, even Salt and Indian Corn, exclusive of every other species of provisions run high--'tis true they have fish the year round Oysters and shell fish in plenty during the Winter Months, but notwithstanding these helps, 'till they can raise the necessaryer of Life for themselves, I am afraid that the expense of supporting so large a Settlement, will be found too considerable for private pockets-- I give Mr. Turnbull every little assistance in my power, & I can



safely say that I am as anxious about his success as he can be himself; but unless Your Lordship is pleased to take this Greek Settlement under your Protection, and include it in the Estimate for 1769, I am apprehensive that Mr. Turnbull will find great difficulty in carrying the projected Plan into Execution--It is upon a larger bottom than was consorted with his Friends at home and has already far exceeded double the Sum which they agreed to advance, for which reason, My Lord, I am under some uneasiness, about the future Conduct of these Gentlemen, they may probably tire of paying the large and frequent Bills which Mr. Turnbull is under the absolute necessity of drawing upon them, their affairs certainly could not be in better hands, the Doctor is active, intelligent and assiduous,--but his Friends tho' they have the highest opinion of Mr. Turnbull's ability and Integrity, may possibly be alarmed at risking such large sums in a New World, without more immediate prospect of Returns for their Money-- what I now mention to Your Lordship is entirely from private opinion for I am sure the Doctor is convinced of my Friendship and good wishes, he has never expressed a doubt to me of his Correspondents going on, and therefore I believe he does not doubt of it, but in my situation, My Lord, I cannot avoid having many serious doubts about a Settlement which is of such consequence to this Infant Colony--and ~~xxx~~ 'though I have no reason to suspect that Mr. Turnbull's Bills will meet with Dishonor, I cannot help considering the dreadful situation, which the Doctor and his Greeks would be reduced to, if such a misfortune was to happen, a single Bill being returned, My Lord, would put a total stop to his Credit, and the people in that case must unavoidably perish for want, if I do not support them--Your Lordship knows I have no Publick Money and indeed if I had a fund in my hands, I have no power to apply it for their subsistence--but it would be impossible to think of their starving, in such case of necessity I must run the risk, draw upon

Minorcans--26.

the Treasury for the subsistence of these adventurers, and depend upon Your Lordship's protection to support me in what I do-- 'tho this affair, My Lord, has hung heavy on my mind, since the Landing of so great a number of people at a time, without previous Provision being made for them, and without the Consent of the other parties concerned; as the Mahonese crowded in unexpectedly upon Dr. Turnbull. I was ^{unwilling} ~~wikking~~ to Express the most distant doubt of his Credit or success--but mentioning the circumstances to Your Lordship in the manner I have done cannot hurt Mr. Turnbull's affairs, and telling Your Lordship what steps I propose to take in event of a misfortune happening ~~yxyx~~ to the Greek settlement makes me easy for a time...." 21.

21. Grant to Hillsborough, December 1, 1768. No. 15 Duplicate, C.O.5.549, pp 99-102. Original in C.O. 5/550. get pp.

Two weeks later, January 14, 1769, the Governor writes in a more cheerful vein; "Doctor Turnbull has been here for some time past with his Settlers, they are all in good humor, get into health and he writes me that they go to work sheerfully, if they can only raise provisions for themselves next year, My Lord, everything will be well, Produce must follow, and if Mr. Turnbull can once begin to send Rice, Indigo, Cotton, Silk, Wine or Sugar to Market he and his Friends may be reimbursed the Expense they have been at, which is very high indeed." He also reports the result of the trial of the mutineers, "Carlo Forni the Ring Leader of the Mosquito Riot and Guisseppi Masadoli alias Bresiano who wounded Mr. Cutter Doctor Turnbull's principal Manager have been condemned and suffered as Examples to others-- I have reprieved and set at Liberty Clatha Corona, George Stephanopoli and Elias Medici 'till His Majesty's pleasure is known, several others were tryed & acquit for want of proper Evidence, which in fact was not Material as two examples were quite sufficient" 22.

22. Grant to Hillsborough, Jan 14, 1769. No. 24. C.O. 5.550. pp??

There is an account of this trial, giving more detail, published by Bernard Romans who was one of the grand jury. Romans held the post of Deputy Surveyor ~~under Grant~~ during the term of Patrick Tonyn who succeeded Grant as Governor. Tonyn and Turnbull ~~were members of opposing political factions at a time when~~ were members of opposing political factions at a time when ~~when~~ politics was rough and politicians expressed themselves much more freely, and with even less regard to truth, than they do today. Evidently Romans wrote his account some time after the event, as he gives the year as 1769, instead of 1768. With this by way of caution to the reader, we quote from Mr. Romans: "I will relate the insurrection to which those unhappy people at New Smyrna were obliged to have recourse, and which the great ones stiled rebellion. In the year 1769, ~~xxxxxx~~ a time when the unparalleled severities of their taskmasters, particularly one Cutter (who had been made a justice of the peace, with no other view than to enable him to execute his barbarities, in a larger extent, and with greater appearance of authority) had drove ~~km~~ these wretches to despair, they resolved to escape to the Havannah; to execute this they broke into the provisions stores, and seized on some craft lying in the harbour, but were prevented from taking others by the care of the masters. Destitute of any man fit for the important post of a leader, their proceedings were all confusion, and an Italian of very bad principles, who was accused of a rape of a very young girl, but of so much note, that he had formerly been admitted to the overseer's table, assumed a kind of command; they thought themselves secure where they were, and this occasioned a delay, 'till a detachment of the ninth regiment had time to arrive, to whom they submitted, except one boat full, which escaped to the Florida Keys; but was taken up by a Providenceman: many were the victims destined

to punishment; as I was one of the grand jury which sat fifteen days on this business, I had opportunity of canvassing it well, but the accusations were of so small account that we found only five bills; one of these against a man for maiming the above said Cutter, whom it seems they pitched upon as the principal object of their resentment and curtailed his ear and two ~~knives~~ of his fingers;-- another for shooting a cow, which being a capital crime in England, the law making it such was here extended to this province; the others were against the leader, and three more, for the burglary committed on the provision store; the distress of the sufferers touched us so, that we almost unanimously wished for some happy circumstances that might justify our rejecting all of the bills, except that against the chief, who was a villain. One man was brought to us three or four times, and at last was joined in one accusation with the person who maimed Cutter; yet no evidence of weight appearing against him, I had the opportunity to remark by the appearance of some faces in court, that he had been marked, and that the grand jury disappointed the expectations of more than one great man. Governor Grant pardoned two, and a third who was to be the executioner of the remaining two. On this condition I saw one of the most moving scenes I ever experienced; long and obstinate was the struggle of this man's mind, who repeatedly called out that he chose to die rather than be the executioner of his friends in distress; this not a little perplexed Mr. Woodbridge, the sheriff, till at last the entreaties of the victims themselves, put an end to the conflict in his breast, by encouraging him to act. Now we beheld a man thus compelled to mount the ladder, take leave of his friends in the most moving manner, kissing them the moment before he committed them to an ignominious death. I have dwelt the longer on this subject because the native prejudice of vulgar Englishmen, has represented the misfortunes of these wretches in too black a

light. It is said that Dr. Stork, who was near the spot when the insurrection happened, died with the fright, and Cutter some time after died a lingering death, having experienced, besides his wounds, the terrors of a coward in power, overtaken by vengeance."²³

23. Romans, by P. Lee Philips, pp 103-106 Get full citation.

This ~~the~~ account was first published in the Colombian Magazine, Charleston, S.C. / get data here from Philips / and was later replied to by Dr. Turnbull. As we ~~has~~ will have occasion to quote both the criticism and reply later, the quotation here will be limited to that part of Dr. Turnbull's reply which concerns the mutiny. "This calumninator says that it was the cruelty of the task-masters which drove these people to endeavour an escape to the Havannah; this was so far from being the ~~xxxx~~ case, that it was only a few days after their landing at Smyrna, and before any work was begun or assigned, that one Carlo Forni persuaded sixteen resolute men to join him in order to carry off linens, cloathing &c. then landed for the people to the amount of about two thousand pounds, and they actually filled a schooner with about thirteen hundred pounds worth of these goods; and they would have carried off the goods in that schooner, which they had piratically seized in the river, if the little water of the bar had not prevented it; the goods however were all lost, for they threw them overboard to lighten the schooner when on the bar; but as at the time of the meeting no work had been assigned, consequently no cruelties from task-masters could give cause of complaint or mutiny; the more as the whole of the men concerned with Forni had not been forty-eight hours on the settlement. Forni had been there some days, and was first manager under Mr. Cutter, consequently a task-master himself, he imagined that the goods in store were more valuable than they really were, and it was that bait, and the

Minorcans-30.

hope of plunder, by which he engaged the others to join him, This calumniator also insinuates, that, the people condemned were accused only of slight things. This is a very extraordinary insinuation, for the men tried and condemned had been guilty of piracy, of breaking open a store and taking out goods to a considerable amount, added to a murder comitted, to which they were all accessaries; and that that murder was of a good benevolent man, walking about with an umbrella in his hand, with which he warded the blows aimed at his head, till he received a mortal stab in the groin; besides the trial was before chief justice Drayton, whose integrity, abilities and conduct, in the impartial administration of justice.... Though that heavy loss fell on the doctor, he solicited the governor to pardon as many of these criminals as he could, his lenity added to security being given by the doctor for twelve of the deluded accessaries, threw the punishment on Forni the contriver and leader of the muting, and on the man who stabbed Mr. Cutter." ^{24.}

24. Romans, Philips, pp. 106-111. (get full citation)

The remaining evidence is a list of the "Greeks Reprieved" in British Colonial Office papers.

"George Stephanople found guilty of Felony, for forcibly taking and carrying away a Boat belonging to Sir Charles Burdett, Bart.

"Clatha Corona found guilty of Felony, for breaking open the warehouse of Dr. Turnbull, and stealing from thence Linnen, Blankets, Flour etc.

"Elia Medici found guilty of Felony for killing a cow, the property of Dr. Turnbull." 26./ C.O. 5/544, p.217.

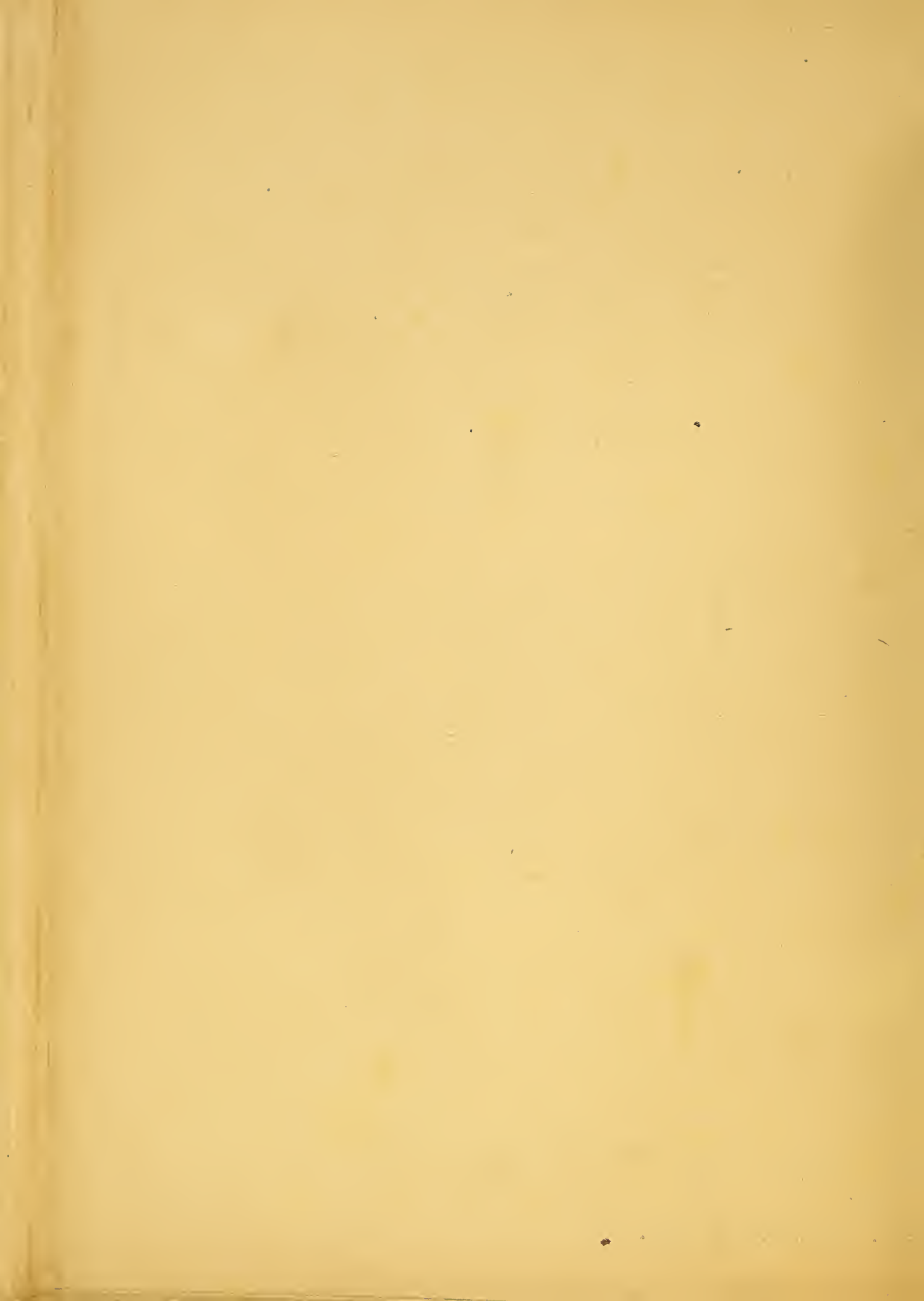
~~Wx~~ We have the stories of Governor Grant, ~~Ex~~ Bernard Romans and Dr. Turnbull, all of which are at variance on important details. Romans places the muting in ~~x1768~~ 1769, when it was

reported by Grant as occurring on August 19, 1768. Dr. Turnbull says the ~~xx~~ rioters has just landed, which may be confirmed by Grant's statement that all had reached New Smyrna by August 10. Still there may have been some ~~xxx~~ rather hard driving for the visiting Planters "were astonished at the Progress which had been made, they agreed that the same number of negroes could not have done more." But the first contingent had arrived at the end of June and it may have been their description of their experience which prompted Forni to head the muting. At any rate it was a bad beginning for the infant settlement. ~~xxx~~ It seems but reasonable that it must have unfavorably impressed Dr. Turnbull and may have led to a more severe treatment of the settlers than they would have otherwise experienced.

The appeal of Grant to Lord Hillsborough did not go unanswered as is shown by a letter of March 3, 1769, from Thomas Bredshaw of the Treasury to John Pownall, Hillsborough's secretary.

"Having laid before My Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury your letter of the 28th of February, transmitting by direction from the Earl of Hillsboroughm an Extract of a letter from Colonel Grant Governor of East Florida, relative to the Twelve Hundred Greek Colonists lately introduced into that province: I am commanded by their Lordships to desire you to acquaint the Earl of Hillsborough that My Lords, from the special circumstances and urgency of the present case will consent that ~~the~~ Governor Grant shall draw Bills upon this Board, for a sum not exceeding Two + thousand pounds, for supporting the said Greek Colonists; but at the same time My Lords desire it may be understood by Governor Grant, that the Public are to be at no further expence upon this account."

25.26

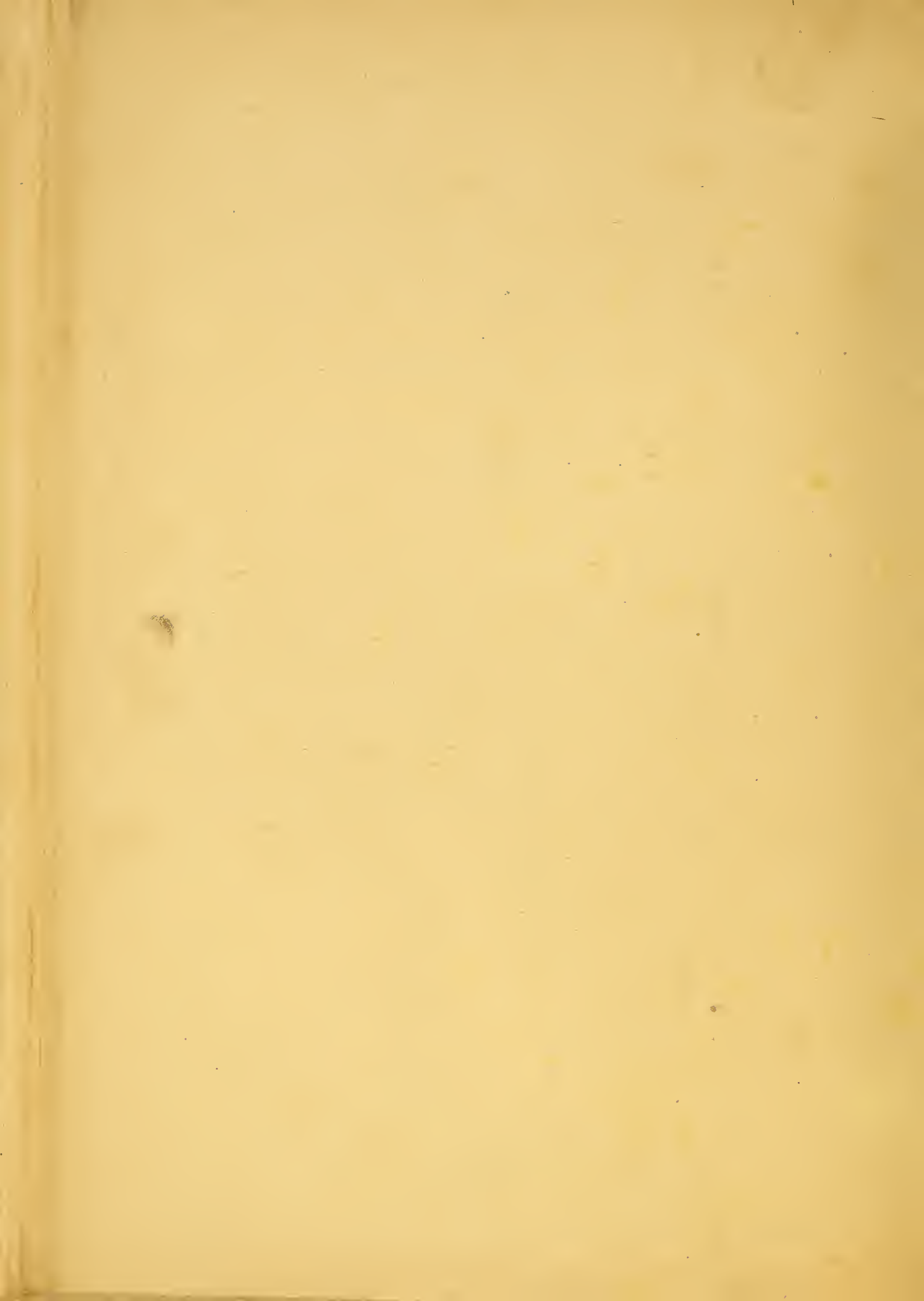


The availibilty of this sum was communicated to the Governor by Hillsborough with the direction "...in case you think it necessary, apply the sum of £ 2,000 to the support of that Establishment, in such a manner as you shall, upon consulting with Dr. Turnbull, think best adapted to the circumstances and necessities of the Colonists, and draw Bills upon the Treasury for the Amount, specifying the Service, and accompanied with proper Vouchers and Accounts." ^{27.}

27. Hillsborough to Grant, April 3, 1769. No. 19, C.O. 5/550 p.??? (get it)

In the meantime Grant had written another report on conditions at New Smyrna, which evidently had not reached Hillsborough when he wrote of the fund allowed by the Treasury.

"Dr. Turnbull's settlers get into Health, he writes me that they have cleared seven Miles in front upon the River, that they have got Gardens and work chearfully, but I shall never be easy in my mind about that settlement 'till they raise subsistence for themselves. Mr. Turnbull to avoid drawing Bills upon his Constituents in London runs too near in point of Provisions--I have always recommended to him to have Six Months Provisions constantly in ^s Store, and have often told him that if he at any time had less than four, he might from the disappointment of a Vessel run the risk of ~~Starving~~ Starving the settlement--by not following my advice, and by too nice Computations, which won't do when a thousand people living in a wilderness may be deprived of subsistence by an Error in Calculation, Mr. Turnbull just as I expected finds himself at this moment very much pinched for provisions as his supplies have not arrived exactly to the time and he writes me that he has only Indian Corn for a Month at the Mosquettoes. I shall take care to prevent his being distressed tho' I have no objection to his being a little uneasy-- and therefore without telling him or any body else, I have sent the East Florida to Charles Town with directions



to my correspondent to load her with Indian Corn, and with private orders to the Captain to proceed directly from Charles~~town~~ Town to Smyrnea, tho' I give it out here that the Vessel is going to Savannah for Lumber and other things needed." ²⁸

28. Grant to Hillsborough, March 4, 1769. No. 26. Duplicate.
C.O. 5/544, pp 200-201, original in C.O. 5/550, pp. (check)

There is a word of warning in Hillsborough's reply to this letter: "I have only to ~~assuakak~~ ...acquaint you...that His Majesty approves the Steps which you have taken to guard against any Distress that might arise to the important Settlement under Doctor Turnbull, by a disappointment to the measures pursued by him for supplying the Settlers with provisions; always trusting that you will not undertake and Service which shall induce an expence to the Public, beyond the Grant of Parliment." ^{28.}

28. Hillsborough to Grant, June 7, 1769. No. 22. C.O. 5/550, p.97.

By July, 1769, the New Smyrna settlement, now a year old was experiencing the difficulties which Grant had forseen from its start. But for his ~~xxxxxxx~~ foresight and the granting of the £ 2,000 it seems probable the colonists would have perished. The situation is described in the Governor's letter of July 21 to Hillsborough.

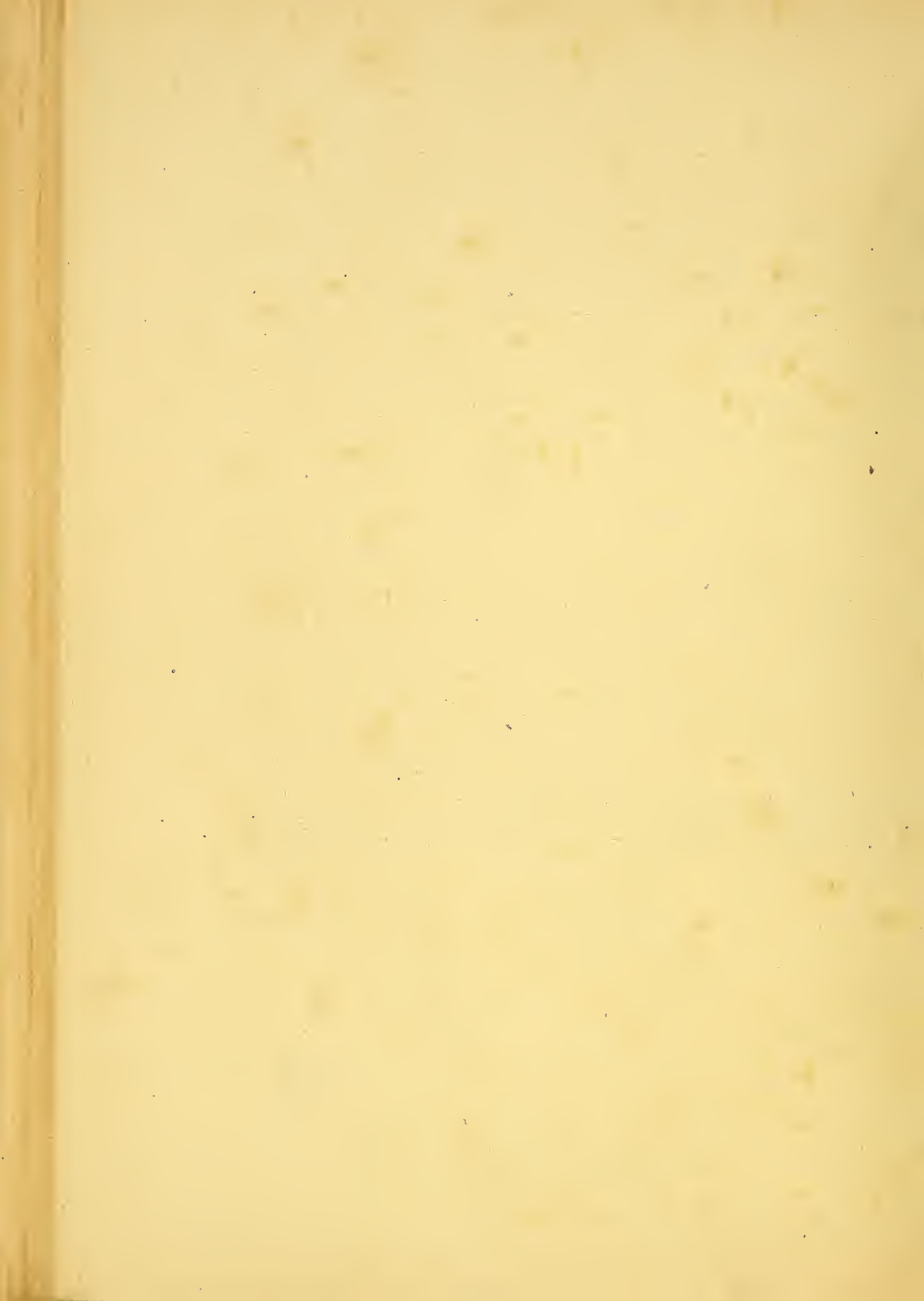
"The £ 2,000 allowed by His Majesty for the support of the Settlement under Dr. Turnbull comes very seasonably for the releif and subsistence of those Adventurers--The Money shall be laid out in the manner which is thought best adapted to the circumstances and necessities of the Colonists, and when I draw for the amount or any part of the Fund upon the Treasury, accounts and proper Vouchers shall be laid before their Lordships.

"This undertaking has already cost Mr. Turnbull and his associates about £ 28,000, he was hurried into numbers at Minorca, and had no idea of the Expense and difficulties he was running himself

into--his friends in London had only agreed to pay six thousand pounds, and had no intention of laying out such large sums as have ~~xxk~~ since been expended--they are at this hour £ 24,000 in advance if the Doctor's bills are paid, of which I have some doubt, as I have been informed that the Gentlemen in London are most heartily tired of paying such large and frequent Bills, which Mr. Turnbull, now embark't cannot avoid drawing--if these Gentlemen should stop, as I have been expecting, the Bounty which has been allowed will not be sufficient to maintain and clothe those colonists, 'till they can raise provisions and other produce for their own Support--I therefore think 'it my duty to inform Your Lordship, that if Mr. Turnbull's Correspondents stop payment, the Settlement must absolutely perish for want, if His Majesty is not Graciously pleased to continue the Bounty--and even that will just barely supply them with salt and Indian Corn; if Mr. Turnbull's Bills should ~~xx~~ return protested, I will pay no money on that account--the whole Bounty shall be laid out to supply the present necessities of the Colonists, for I apprehend I have nothing to do with any Debt contracted prior to the order with which Your Lordship has honored me." 29.

30. Grant to Hillsborough, July 1, 1769, Duplicate No. 30.
C.O. 5/544, pp 213-214. Original in C.O. 5/550 pp ??.

Dr. Turnbull, however, seemed not to realize the precarious situation. Still as sanguine as ever, or perhaps hoping to bolster his credit by a favorable report, he writes to Lord Shelburne in September, "The Settlement of Foreigners here is now, My Lord, on such footing that it can almost go of itself, tho' it has not arrived to this state without such unforeseen difficulties as arise from unknown circumstances of climate, situation & seasons, The disposition of the Settlement is into Farms, which extend nigh eight miles on a navigable river, each farm house two hundred and ten feet from another, which is the breadth of the farms in front,



Minorcans-35.

they run back many acres in Length. The nearness of the Hutts to one another gives the whole a resemblance to an Eastern or Chinese Plantation... Tho' my people are comfortably lodged in Palm Hutts at present, I hope to have all the Farmhouses built in one year more. We have done good work, & intend to send Indigo to market next year. We go on with this, and some other light cultures, till our vines, olive and mulberry trees come on."³⁰

30. Turnbull to Shelburne, September 24, 1769. Mss. of Marquis of Lansdowne, Vol. 88, f. 155.

There is no mention here of governmental assistance or that without it the settlement would have been on the verge of starvation; yet the list of supplies purchased by Grant with the Bounty money indicates they were not only in need of food and clothing, but also of adequate housing and tools with which to work.

"Shipped from Charleston, August 31, 1769.

100 lbs. 4d. nails	464 Bu. red pease
80 lbs. 6d "	332 $\frac{1}{2}$ Bu. Black eyes.
20 lbs. 20d. "	402 $\frac{1}{2}$ Bu. Indian Corn
30 pcs. white Plains	20 Bags Rice 110 lb. ea.
14 doz. & 2 Grubbing Hoes	32 Bbls. Flour 7630 lbs.
1 $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. Philadelphia Axes	18 ditto
4 Whip Saws	75 ditto
2 doz. Whip Saw files	6 ditto
681 $\frac{1}{2}$ Bu. Indian Corn	21 ditto
731 " " "	7 Hds. Rum 794 Gal.
600 " " "	

A large copper still." 31. / C.O. 5/552. Included in G. to H. No. 45. Feb 15, 1771 get pp.

There is also a shipment of 587 $\frac{1}{2}$ Bu. Corn in 72 casks from St. Augustine to Turnbull on Sept. 7, 1769.

The Doctor's expectation of having his settlement on a self supporting basis in another year was not realized. On September 1, 1770, Grant reports to Hillsborough:

"In my letter No. 30 ~~and then~~ I had the honor to lay before your Lordship an account of the helpless and distressed State of the Greek Settlement at Smyrna, and took the Liberty to observe to Your Lordship the necessity there was of continuing

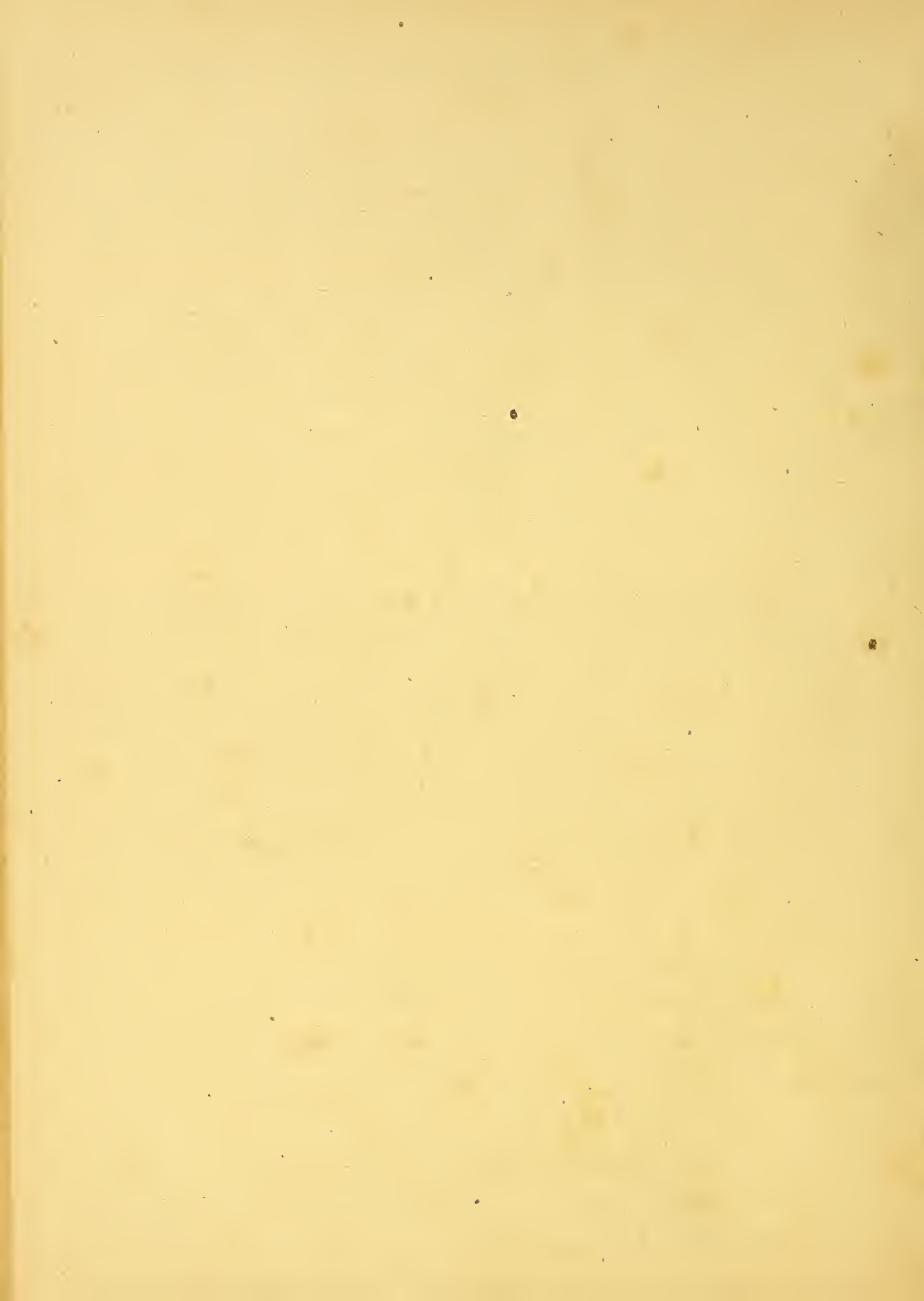
His Majesty's most gracious Bounty for the support of those Adventurers.

"Last year's Bounty has been laid out entirely for their subsistence and has actually saved them from starving for without that well timed help from Government, there must have been an end of that numerous promising Settlement.

"Doctor Turnbull is diligent and Assiduous, he resides constantly with his Greek Colonists and does as much as Man can do, to repair the first fault of exceeding the number of people to be imported, and of course the funds which his Constituents had agreed to advance--in place of six thousand which was^{the} stipulated Sum, they have actually, My Lord, paid £ 24,000 and are determined to go no further.

"The Greek Settlers having been well fed last Year have got into Health and Spirits, they work well, have cleared a great deal of Ground, which the Doctor has put into very good order-- the Greeks this year have raised a considerable quantity of provisions such as Indian Corn, Pease, Potatoes and Greens of all kinds, and if supported they will soon get into comfortable state, and be able to supply themselves with every necessary of life, Produce and 'tis to be hopes useful Produce to Great Britain will of course follow.

"But at present they are destitute of every convenience, they are ill Clother, many of them almost naked, and are obliged to live in small Hutts put up in a Hurry to shelter them from the Weather upon their first Arrival. Doctor Turnbull has neither the money nor Credit to supply them with Clothes, and has not the necessary Tools and Materials to build Houses for them-- in that distressed situation he can only look up to His Majesty for His most gracious support, by ordering the Royal Bounty to be continued to enable him to catty an extensive and useful undertaking into Execution with



Minorcans-37.

Success-- he presses me to lay his case before Your Lordship, and to transmit for Your Lordship's consideration an Indent of such things as are absolutely necessary for the existence of the Settlement.

"The Indent amounts to £ 1,000--if the Bounty is continued and Your Lordship is pleased to order Mr. Nixon ~~and~~ the Doctor's agent to ~~xxxx~~ receive that Money at the Treasury, he will be very careful in the Purchase and Package of the Assortment, which may be sent to Charles Town if no Vessel offers for this Port--the remaining thousand if Your Lordship approves of the method, I shall continue to draw upon the Treasury for the ~~of~~ support of the Settlement, in the same manner as I drew the Bounty for last Year." ^{31.}

31. Grant to Hillsborough, September 1, 1770. No. 39. Duplicate in C.O. 5/545 pp.33-34. Original in C.O. 5/551 pp ?? (Get it)

The indent referred to , enclosed with above letter, calls for 22,000 yards of cloth of several kinds, 600 balnkets, 600 pr. of shoes, 60 dozen indigo sickles, 60 doz. broad hoes and 100 lbs. of nails.

In October, 1769 a new agreement had been entered into between Turnbull and his partners in England, in which all the land so far granted ~~xxxxxx~~, 80,000 acres, which apparently included grants taken in the ~~xxxxxx~~ names of Turnbull's wife and children, was to be thrown into one mass subject to ~~xxxxxx~~ the same agreement as to division except that it was to be according to the monies advanced by each partner, giving Grenville 2 parts, Duncan 2 parts and Turnbull 1 part. If any additional grants were obtained they should be added until the whole amount was 100,000 ^{32.} acres.

~~#2~~ 32. Treasury 77/7.

The reply of the Lords of the Treasury to Grants request for a continuance of the Bounty, forwarded to them by Hillsborough, was a denial of the request. ^{33.}

33. Hillsborough to Grant, December 11, 1770, No. 35. C.O. 5/551, p ??

July

In ~~October~~, of this same year, Hillsborough had written grant that a leave of absence had been granted him; but the Governor decided not to take advantage of it at that time. Some correspondence ensued in discussion of who should act during Grant's absence, and while Turnbull's name was mentioned it was Grant's opinion that the Doctor could not be absent from his Settlement as much as this official position would require. The upshot was that Moultrie, a planter from Carolina, was nominated

34.

as Lieutenant Governor.

34. ~~Grant to Hillsborough, July 31, 1770, No. 31. C.O. 5/551, p.??; Grant to Hillsborough October 19, 1770, No. 42. C.O. 5/545. pp. 60-61.~~

The following spring, being in ill health, Grant decided to take advantage of the leave already granted and sailed for

35.

England by way of South Carolina on May 9, 1771.

35. Grant to Hillsborough, March 20, 1771, Duplicate No. 47. C.O. 5/552, pp ??; ~~the~~ Moultrie to Hillsborough, May 12, 1771, No. 1, Ibid, pp.???.

3 days before

From documentary evidence it was ~~xxxxxx~~ Grant sailed, ~~although Moultrie's letter xxxxxxxx xxxxxxxx~~, that New Smyrna had its first visitation by Indians. Turnbull in a letter to Grant the day of the latter's sailing, places the first visit as on May 6. He tells that chief Cowkeeper came with 72 Indians, beat some of the boat's crew and twenty, with the Chief, "dined, got drunk, and went away in better humor" This was on Friday. On Sunday part of them returned and Turnbull gave them a ~~small~~ calf. As the military detachment then consisted of but

36

eight men and a sergeant, he asked that reinforcements be sent.

36. Turnbull to Grant, May 9, 1771. C.O. 5/552-pp 97-99.

The letter evidently arrived at St. Augustine too late for Grant to take any action. Moultrie, probably viewed by the Military as a "mere colonial" was not so successful in obtaining

reinforcements as Grant, a retired colonel, might have been.

The story is told in some detail in a letter from Moultrie to Hillsborough dated May 23. "A few days before Governor Grant sailed for England, Dr. Turnbull, who was in St. Augustine, received an express from his Settlement, telling him that 140 Indians, Sulky, equipt for war, had come to their place, had beat some of his people, took their provisions etc. and that the whole Plantation was in the greatest consternation and panick. The Doctor immediately set out for Smyrnea and since his arrival there has informed me by Letter, that the people's fear had doubled the number of Indians; that there were 70, under several head men who had got together and halted near his place in their way to attack a town which they had been falsely informed was building by some Spaniards and Yamasee Indians, with who they are at continual war. The doctor convinced them that they had been imposed upon, the head men eat and drank with him, were very friendly, kept their young people in great order, and beat some of them severely for offering to kill a calf and committing some other little irregularities that Warriors of another complexion will be guilty of at times. They divided into several bodies and went home in perfect good humor and happy.

"Two of their head men have been to visit me today with some of their attendants, and a recommendation from the Doctor. I have made them welcome, applauded them for the care they took in governing their young men but desired that when they meet in such great bodies they would keep clear of the plantations, as they would distress them for provisions, and their young men might be unruly; they acknowledged the propriety of so doing and promised to do so." 40
40. Moultrie to Hillsborough, May 23, 1771. Duplicate No.2, C.O. 5/552 pp. 85-89.

As Indian affairs from this time on had an effect on the Settlement it will not be amiss to give the reader a brief outline of conditions in East Florida at this time. The English settlements had not yet been

had not extended much west of the St. John's River. All the interior of peninsula Florida was still considered as Indian lands and although it was British policy to obtain these lands by treaty or purchase, this was not carried into effect. In order to encourage trade, and to keep the Indians peaceful, a considerable sum was expended on Indian presents each year and "talks" were held with them by the Governor. Indian chiefs visiting St. Augustine were always suitably entertained, but always, in the minds of the outlying settlers was a fear of Indian uprising.

There had been a complete change of Indian population since the time of St. Augustine's founding, a gradual movement southward. Timucuan had been replaced by Yax Yemasees who in turn had been almost obliterated by other tribes from Georgia. The Lower Creeks had moved into western Florida and from them the Seminoles had separated. Remnants of the older tribes, under new names, still inhabited the central part of the State and on the Keys and lower coasts were a few Tegestas and Caloosas now known as the Spanish Indians.

On June 13 Moultrie again writes to Hillsborough saying that Turnbull surprised him very much "on his coming to St. Augustine, by telling me that he came on purpose to inform me that his people continued to be much alarmed, and he did not think they were safe, and he was sure that party of Indians came on purpose to attack his settlement."⁴¹

41. Moultrie to Hillsborough, No.3, June 13, 1771. C.O. 5/552 pp.91-94

This moved Moultrie to take the matter up in the Council and make a formal request to Major MacKensie, then commanding in St. Augustine, that the detachment at new Smyrna be increased to ⁴²twenty men.

42. Moultrie to Mc Kensie, June 6, 1771. C.O. 5/552-pp101-102.

Mc Kensie's reply was a polite denial, saying that the detachment at New Smyrna was, in his opinion, very sufficient to

Minorcans-41.

answer the purpose for which they were sent there, "That is to prevent Mutiny and insurrection among the Greek Settlers on that Plantation. If any other Accident should happen to make it seriously necessary to have more Troops sent to the Musquettos, you'll be so good as to make Application to General Gage, the Commander in Chief, who no doubt will give me Orders relative thereto." ^{43.}
43. MacKensie to Moultrie, June 6, 1771. C.O. 5/552-p.105.

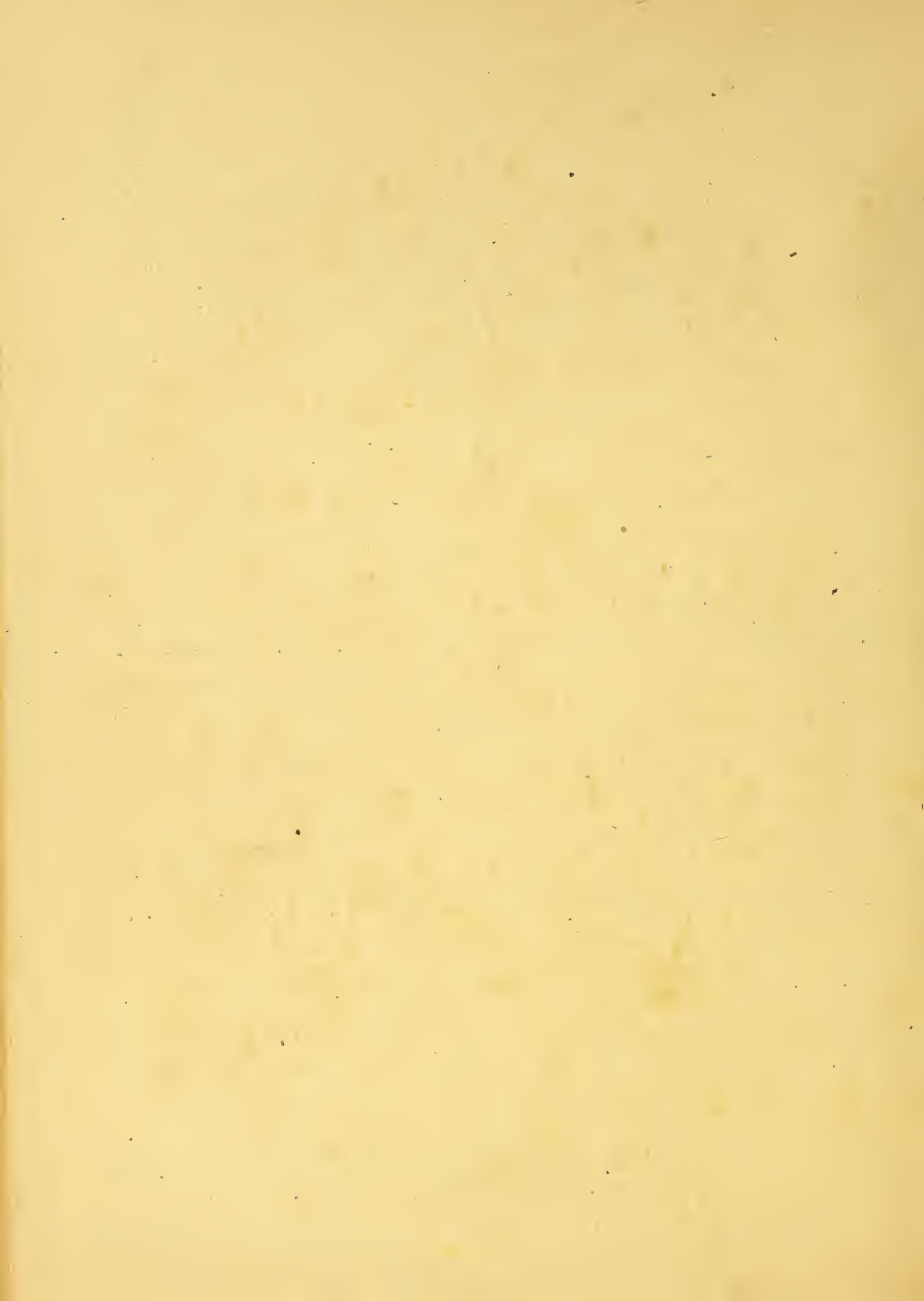
To send a request to Gage, whose headquarters was in New York, and get a reply Moultrie estimated would take about three months. He complained ~~about~~ against MacKensie's action in the letter above quoted, to which Hillsborough that he thought the request for additional troops justified and wrote, in regard to MacKensie, "I shall not fail at a proper time to consider what Measure it may be advisable to take in consequence of his Refusal to comply with your ~~43.~~ ^{44.} Requisition."

44 44. Hillsborough to Moultrie, December 4, 1771. C.O. 5/553-p.123.

However, no more troops were sent to New Smyrna and for the time being there was no need for them. Although there were political troubles in which Turnbull and Chief Justice Drayton resigned from the Council and an enmity seemed to be growing between Turnbull and Moultrie, affairs at the Settlement, as far ~~as~~ ^{45.} as official correspondence reflects them, were peaceful.
45. Moultrie to Hillsborough, December 28, 1771. C.O. 5/545, p.136.

On August 20, 1772 Moultrie writes, "By the death of the Revd. Mr. Frazier, late of the Mosquitoes that settlement is without a Protestant Minister. I have desired Mr. Forbes, Minister, of St. Augustine, to go at proper intervals and officiate there as I wou'd be glad to give the people not only the benefit of a Clergyman, but to keep up a decent and proper appearance of Religion in that quarter". ^{46.} Moultrie to Hillsborough, Aug. 20, 1772. C.O. 5/545, pp.206-07.

It is probable that in referring to "the Mosquitoes" Moultrie intended to include all the other settlements in that vicinity as well as Turnbull's settlement at New Smyrna. As far as the latter



was concerned there had always been a "proper appearance of Religion" there but it was not Protestant. Two ~~xxx~~ priests had come from Minorca with the colonists ^{Don} ~~xxxxx~~ Pedro Camps, Doctor in Sacred Theology as Parish Priest and Don Bartolome Casanovas as Vicar. It is in the carefully kept Baptismal Register of Father Camps that the descendents of these colonists are able to trace their parentage. He not only gives the date of baptism, but the actual hour of birth, and in cases of twins is careful to distinguish which is first-born and the time interval between the two births. The parents names are given and often their birth place is noted. The names and sometimes the birthplace of sponsors is also entered.

It was part of the definitive treaty of 1763, by which Florida was ceded to Great Britain, that there should be freedom of religion. It was one of the articles by which ^{English} Florida ~~xxxx~~ land was restricted that the settlers should be white Protestants. Neither of these requirements were complied with.

While religious freedom was ^{observed} ~~xxxxxxxx~~ in Florida, to the extent that establishment of a Roman Catholic church in New Smyrna was permitted; there was a restriction which prevented priests from leaving their parishes and this same restriction was in force in Minorca, a British possession at the time these colonists emigrated. In consequence of this Father Camps was not able to receive orders from his Bishop, who was then in Spain, before the sailing took place. ~~xxxx~~ As a result there arose a considerable correspondence which gives an interesting picture of the religious situation of that period.

On the 20th of October, 1769, wrote a letter to the Bishop of Cuba stating that one year previously Mr. Andrew Turnbull an Englishman, had taken from the Island of Minorca

With regard to the terms of the land grants, the original Turnbull plan had been to import Greek Christians, who were members of the Greek Church and therefore recognized as Protestants. Though in the end the Greeks constituted but a minor fraction of the total number of colonists, and the Italians and Minorcans were all of the Roman Catholic faith, the colonists as a whole were continually referred to as Greeks, and New Smyrna as "The Greek Settlement" and it seems that this violation of the terms of the grant was never raised.

The position of Father Camps in the Settlement was peculiar, he was, at the time, the sole Catholic Parish Priest in all East Florida. While during Spanish times the parishes of Florida had been under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Cuba, and still was theoretically, there was no ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ possibility of the Bishop's making a pastoral visitation ~~xxxx~~ to this parish, even if he had known it existed.

On October 20, 1769, Father Camps wrote to the Bishop of which he sent by a passing Spanish fishing boat. Cuba./ His letter is extensively quoted from in a letter written in Madrid September 27, 1770, and from this latter letter the following excerpts are taken. "...the prelate lays before the public the fact that one year previous Mr. Andrew Turnbull, an Englishman, had taken from the Island of Minorca about 1300 persons to colonize Florida, for whom he was appointed Parish Priest and Don Bartolome Casanovas, of the St. Augustine order, Vicar of said jurisdiction. They had received their appointment from the Supreme Pontificate, not knowing to which Bishop this jurisdiction of Florida belonged, but it was their



Minorcans-44.

duty to appera by ~~writing~~ writing before the expiration of three years to the Prelate of the Apostolic chair in that diocese. That both of them are natives of Minorca, which Island was temporarily subject to the King of Great Britain and spiritually to the Bishop of Minorca. That he had studied philosophy and theology, received all the orders, been one of the governing body and Vicar. This last office he held for twelve years in Minorca. Preached during several Lents, as had also Padre Casanovas. For all these reasons he begs that he be sent a patent of Parochial Priest and one of Vicar to Fray Casanovas. He also asks for some of the Holy oil used in baptism and extreme unction, That all these be sent him by the same secret means of the fishermen for the spiritual aid and advancement of those Catholic people. "

The Bishop of Cuba was inclined to view the whole thing as improbable . The secret manner in which the letter was sent, the fact that the treaty of 1763 provided for religious freedom , in fact the improbability of the whole matter determined him to ask that an investigation be made, both at Rome and in Minorca. It was not until ~~the~~ middle of 1773 that the whole matter was cleared up and The Parish of San Pedro de los Mosquitos formally accepted. 47.

47. Unwritten History of Old St. Augustine pp. 191-229

While this correspondence was being carried on a political change was taking place in England and Governor Grant, being persuaded that he could be elected to Parliment , and a rule preventing foreign governors from sitting in that body, presented his resignation to the Earl of Darthout. Grant's resignation was accepted and Patrick Tonyn was appointed to the position 48.

thus vacated.

48. Grant to Darthouth, London, April 22, 1773 C.O. 5/553, pp ??
Tonyn to Pownall, Dec. 5, 1773, C.O. 5/553 pp??

~~It~~ This change in governors was to have a disastrous effect on the New Smyrna colony, but it was some little time before Tonyn arrived to take charge of the government of East Florida.

In the ~~next~~ early spring of 1773 Moultrie, still in charge as Lieutenant Governor, writes that he had "visited all of the Plantations and Settlements on the Mosquito river" and "that a Spirit of Improvement of Industry and good humor every where prevails among the Settlers; of which they feel the good effects, their Plantations carry the appearance of Improvement; they have planted around them and are beginning to recover the expences they have been at on their first settling in this New Colony."^{49.}

49. Moultrie to Dartmouth, February 19, 1773. No. 23, Duplicate, C.O. 5/545-pp. 289-290.

If this report of Moultrie's is to be ~~believed~~ taken at its face value, and there seems no reason it should not be as Moultrie and Turnbull were not very friendly, there must have been a marked improvement in the New Smyrna settlement since the last report by Grant. This is in a measure borne out by Turnbull's letter of October, 1774, "...This settlement enjoys perfect health, and we increase in numbers daily. I have a certainty before me of succeeding in a very large way, for which I have now laid ^{a solid} ~~the~~ foundation, tho' it was against the opinion of some men, who prefer a flash of present gain, tho' extorted from the labourer and the land, to greater advantage in future. I have been thrown back a little this year by a most scorching drouth, which burnt up our crops. I am taking measures to prevent this in future, by adopting the Egyptian mode of watering. This is new to American planters, and is talked of as Chimerical; but I have seen the utility of such modes of culture, and am

Minorcans- 46.

convinced of the necessity of them in this Climate, I go on
being certain of succeeding...."⁵⁰

50. Turnbull to Shelburne, October 3, 1774. Mss. of Marquis of
Landsdowne, Vol. 88, f. 157.

That this irrigation plan was to some extent carried out
is shown by the canals which are still visible at the location
of the settlement. The labor to construct them must have been
considerable and while Turnbull's theory that irrigation is
necessary for profitable Florida farming has been proven by the
experience of subsequent generations, the wisdom of his embarking
on such an extensive and expensive system at that stage of his
development may be questioned.

Governor Tonyn arrived at St. Augustine on March 1st,
1774. His commission was proclaimed on March 9th. and almost
immediately he became involved in serious troubles with his
Chief Justice Drayton.

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA



3 1262 09821 4397